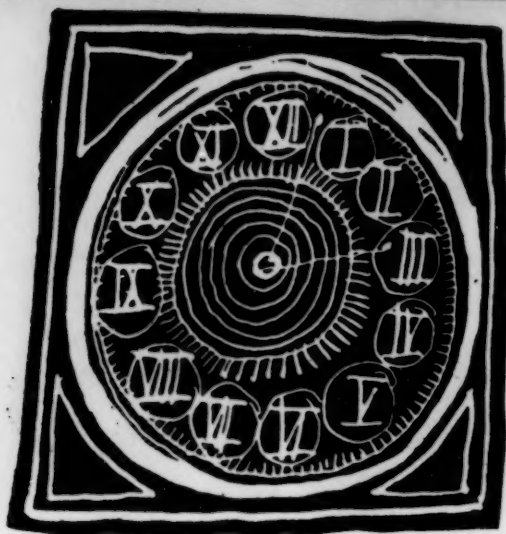



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Saul Steinberg, pen and ink drawings, from
"Design and Paper" No. 30, courtesy Marquardt
and Company, New York.



college art journal

A PUBLICATION OF THE COLLEGE ART ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA

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Volume IX

SPRING 1950

Number 3

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Raoul Dufy, pen and ink drawing, courtesy
Louis Carré Gallery, New York.

MINUTES OF 38TH ANNUAL BUSINESS MEETING, COLLEGE ART ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA, HELD AT THE DRAKE HOTEL, CHICAGO

January 26, 1950

President's Report

MR. HOPE reported on the Association's financial condition in the absence of Mr. Eisner, the Treasurer. The auditor's figures showed that the year 1949 was a rather successful one, ending with a net profit of about \$2,500 (this includes a contribution toward the support of the *Art Bulletin* of \$1,000 for the year 1949 which was received shortly after the end of the year).

During the first ten months of the year there was a drop of approximately one-third in new members as compared with the figures for 1948. In November a large promotion campaign was undertaken which brought successful results, ending in a net gain of 134 members. The total membership as of January 1, 1949 was 1,678 and as of December 31, 1949 it stood at 1,812.

Index of the Art Bulletin

Mr. Hope announced that one of the most important projects undertaken by the Association during 1949 was the completion of the *Index of the Art Bulletin*. Early in 1947 Mr. George Kubler of Yale University, at that time Editor of the *Art Bulletin*, brought this matter before the Board of Directors, who, in turn, approved the idea.

Mr. Rensselaer W. Lee, Secretary, described the *Index* as being very complete and said that it would enormously assist scholars of the history of art. Miss Rosalie Green of the Index of Christian Art was commissioned to undertake the compilation of the *Index* and the cost to the Association has amounted to \$3,300 in salaries. It will be published by the Index Society and the Columbia University Press at no expense to the Association. After the cost of publishing has been met, thirty percent of the sales will accrue to the Association. Mr. Lee went on to point out that Miss Green had done a magnificent job and the Association is indebted to her for having seen it through to completion.

Mr. Hope called upon Miss Green to give a report on the scope and content of the *Index*. She said that the demand of users in many fields had been anticipated; both reference and bibliography. The number of entries is about 5,000 and the *Index* will be published in book form, consisting of about 450 pages. Members will receive in the near future sales promotion material, which it is hoped they will pass on to their book purchasing departments.

Art Bulletin

As a result of the fire in the warehouse in New Haven, which was announced at the 1949 meeting, a request was sent to members asking that they donate any duplicate copies or issues for which they had no further use. In response to this request almost 2,500 back issues were received, which was most gratifying since, as was pointed out in the letter of request, the revenue from the sale of back issues is one of the main sources of income for publishing current issues. Through an arrangement between the Board of Directors and the warehouse in New Haven the Association received \$750.

Mr. Charles Kuhn, retiring Editor of the *Bulletin*, reported that he was leaving the *Art Bulletin* with a great deal of regret. It was a time-consuming job, but interesting because the editor is in very close contact with the creative scholarship of this country. He was now turning over to his successor a number of extremely interesting manuscripts. He called attention to the handsome new format, for which Miss Margot Cutter is responsible. Mr. Kuhn said he was very glad the editorship has been assumed by Mr. Wolfgang Stechow. Mr. Kuhn was given a rising vote of thanks for his work on the *Bulletin*.

Mr. Stechow thanked Mr. Kuhn for the manner in which he had prepared the way for his taking over the editorship. In spite of the fact that there were quite a number of manuscripts awaiting publication, he hoped there would be no reduction in the number coming in; he would like to have them pour in. Mrs. Karl Lehmann will continue as Editor for Book Reviews and Miss Margot Cutter as Managing Editor. A vote of thanks was extended by the membership.

College Art Journal

Mr. Laurence Schmeckebier, Editor of the *COLLEGE ART JOURNAL*, reported on the general idea with which he has been working. The *JOURNAL* should not only maintain a standard of scholarship, it should reflect something of the strength and vitality of the organization, and with that in mind he has been careful to try to encourage people from different sections of the country to contribute. The west, midwest and east should be solicited for

articles and the Board of Directors recommended and voted that regional editors should be set up. He appealed for contributions representing the different fields of activity within the Association. The next issue of the JOURNAL will include several papers given at the Conference of English Teachers which are related to Art History. The ideas, ambitions and tendencies of the whole fine arts fraternity should be represented in a national organization. He also thanked the staff: Mrs. Helen Foss, News Editor, and Mr. Allen Weller, Editor for Book Reviews, as well as the authors of book reviews. If the members have any criticisms or ideas he would like very much to have them.

Mr. Hope stated that in closing the affairs for the year 1949 he would like the membership to approve the acts of the Board of Directors and its Executive Committee. Mr. Charles P. Parkhurst of Oberlin College made the motion which was seconded and then received the unanimous approval of the membership.

Election of Officers, Directors, and Nominating Committee for 1951

Mr. Joseph C. Sloane, Jr., of Bryn Mawr College, Chairman of the Nominating Committee, presiding, stated that the list which was before the membership was sent them according to the By-Laws of the College Art Association. The slate of nominees was not exclusive, further nominations from the floor being in order.

Officers to serve for 1950:

President: Henry R. Hope
 Vice-President: David M. Robb
 Secretary: Rensselaer W. Lee
 Treasurer: Mark Eisner

Directors who will serve until 1954:

Roberta M. Allford, Rhode Island School of Design
 Mark Eisner, New York City
 Henry R. Hope, Indiana University
 Walter W. Horn, University of California, Berkeley
 Laurence Schmeckebier, Cleveland Institute of Art

Nominating Committee for 1951:

Charles P. Parkhurst, Jr., Chairman, Oberlin College
 Allen S. Weller, University of Illinois
 Marian B. Davis, University of Texas
 Gibson Danes, Ohio State University
 Joseph C. Sloane, Jr., Bryn Mawr College

As there were no nominations from the floor, ballots were passed by tellers and the entire slate was elected as presented. There were 108 ballots and 266 proxies cast.

Annual Meeting

Mr. Hope told the membership that the Board of Directors and the Local Committee planned this program as far back as last June and preparations have been in progress since that time. Every effort was made to give a program that was, first of all, interesting and that could be integrated with the opening of the Van Gogh exhibition at the Art Institute of Chicago. As an innovation, luncheon meetings were planned with the hope that they would be the means of contributing new ideas and material.

Mr. Hope announced that there would be a Seminar on Van Gogh on Saturday morning, followed by a special preview for members of the Van Gogh exhibition. In the afternoon there was a program of films which included: *Van Gogh, 1848* (Daumier, Gavarni, etc.), and *The Titan: The Story of Michelangelo*.

New Business

Mr. Stechow raised the question of giving back issues of the *Art Bulletin* for the war years to *Thieme-Becker* in Leipzig, and since this publication is indispensable to art historians, a motion that this be done was made, seconded and carried. It is understood that they are planning to bring out this year a supplementary volume on anonymous artists. They are also planning a revised edition of a number of volumes and are in great need of information.

Questionnaires will be sent to all members attending the meeting with the request that they give their views on the program and the location and date of the 1951 annual meeting. The Association has received a letter from the Council of Art Museums of the District of Columbia inviting the Association to hold its 1951 meeting in that city and the Board of Directors proposes that the members accept.

Mr. G. Haydn Huntley proposed that the Board of Directors consider the suggestion of holding every other meeting outside the eastern area. Because of the lack of time it was decided that this recommendation be taken up at the next Board of Directors meeting.

As there was no further business which could not be postponed, a motion to adjourn was made, seconded and carried.

SHAFTESBURY'S SECOND CHARACTERS*

By John Steegman

THE third Earl of Shaftesbury became gravely ill of consumption in the summer of 1711. He left England for Naples in the hope of recovery and arrived at the end of that year. At the beginning of 1713 he died there. He was forty-two years old.

During the year 1712 he was preparing his *Second Characters* which was to consist of four treatises. Of these "The Letter Concerning Design" is the first and the best known.

It is the second to which I would first call attention. This is "The Notion Concerning the Judgment of Hercules." Shaftesbury had commissioned Paul de Mattaeis to paint a picture of the "Choice of Hercules" as related by Prodicus and by Xenophon and decided to write a treatise on aesthetics based on this picture. He wrote it in French and it was published in the *Journal des Sçavants* in November, 1712. This treatise is a very good example of the Augustan method of aesthetic analysis by means of a specific instance—in this case, the Judgment of Hercules as it ought to be composed and painted. It is extreme rationalization.

Shaftesbury formulates his rules for the correct conception of what a tablature, or picture, should be. The rules might be described as those of Unity, Decorum, Harmony, Purpose and Feeling.

Unity is what he also describes as the rule of consistency: Unity not only of time and space but also of action, "setting in view only such passages as have actually subsisted, or according to nature might well subsist, in one and the same instant." This, of course, is an implied condemnation of the trecento convention of simultaneous action, which to Shaftesbury's rational mind, was ridiculous.

Decorum means avoidance of the violent or shocking. Such emotions as grief, pity or fear must be aroused by appeal to the imagination and not by direct statement. Violence is indecent. And under this heading, Shaftesbury delivers an attack on what he calls High Church and Popish art with its crucifixions and martyrdoms.

* From a paper presented at the 38th annual meeting of the College Art Association in Chicago, Jan. 27, 1950.

Harmony demands that "one and the same spirit may, without contest, reign through the whole of the design." For instance, a historical or moral piece must of necessity lose its virtue if anything of the emblematical or enigmatic kind be introduced. At the same time hyperbole is justified, provided it "be *one*, only one, unique, simple." Otherwise it runs to farce immediately.

Harmony, moreover, applies to design as well as to spirit. As he says, "A tablature must have but one point of sight. There can be no perfection except when the ordinance is such that the eye not only runs over with ease the several parts of the design, but when the same eye, resting immovable in the middle of the tablature, may see at once all which is there exhibited to the sight." He related this harmonizing of the dramatic with the compositional focal points to the Greek doctrine of ἑστύνοπτον.

Shaftesbury's rule of purpose is simply that a picture should state its aims. In his words: "A just design should at first view discover what nature it is designed to imitate; what life, whether of the higher or the lower kind, it aims chiefly to represent. It must with ease distinguish itself either as historical and moral, or as perspective and merely natural." From which we may gather Shaftesbury's poor opinion of naturalistic landscape, which is what he means by perspective.

His sixth rule, that of Feeling, is a truism which, I feel, constantly needs restating. "It is evident," he says, "that nothing is more fatal, either to painting, architecture or the other arts, than that false relish which is governed rather by what immediately strikes the senses than by what on reflection pleases the mind and satisfies the thought." As he says in his last treatise, the "Plastics," "Our great business is to correct our taste: ἀπέχειν, in the Greek: arrest, suspend, defer, improve, else we are run away with, like the man on the runaway horse in Lucian. Therefore, stop it in its full career, cross it, turn it; and sometimes when lazy even give it the spur—until the original first rude taste be corrected by rule."

Shaftesbury's theory of aesthetics, as we see it here and in the other three essays of the *Second Characters* is formal, appealing to the intellect. He profoundly distrusts the quality which the French call the *je ne sais quoi*: a quality of the imagination, an inpalpable. Indeed, he finds it almost as dangerous as what he calls the pseudo-criticism of the French *Précieuses*. "It is not in our language," he says, "nor I hope ever will be."

In his essay the "Plastics" Shaftesbury returns to the *je ne sais quoi* in a passage which clearly formulates his rule: "The ruin of artists," he writes, "is the habit of suffering the ideas to present themselves and lead on, engage and enamour as they will—no order, no control, no regulation.

Nauseating," he exclaims. "'Tis not," he continues, "the *je ne sais quoi* to which the ignorant would reduce everything; 'tis not the *I like* but the *why* I do like? If not with reason and truth, I will refuse to like, dislike my fancy, condemn the form and reject it." *Fancy*, of course, is used as Addison used it, a synonym for imagination.

It has occasionally been pointed out that Shaftesbury's intellectualizing of aesthetics leaves no room for the appeal to the feeling which is made by all great works of art: if passion be excluded from the painter, it cannot be experienced by the spectator. But it is not quite true to say that Shaftesbury excludes the passions or even the emotions. What he does exclude is direct expression or representation of them in the picture. They can be, and indeed should be, there; but they should be there before, so to speak, the picture begins. They are there by implication and suggestion; and to that extent the imagination is admitted. The implication must be made by conventions, borrowed from the poets, learned by the painters, applied according to the rules and at once understood and accepted by the critical spectator. It is not the imagination aroused by something we ourselves have known or might know, but the intellectual imagination that reconstructs something we know about, as having occurred in history or been recounted in poetry. It is the conventionalized imagination, such as that aroused by, say, Raphael's *Incendio nell Borgo*. But the *imagination as fancy*, as a primary source of pleasure, as considered by Addison in the famous essays of 1712, is utterly at variance with Shaftesbury's speculation.

Shaftesbury was perfectly aware that even masters whom he most esteemed, such as Titian or Raphael himself, as in *The Deliverance of S. Peter*, express something that is mysterious and intangible. He cannot have been unaware of this; he does not condemn it; he ignores it. Shaftesbury, like any other philosophers, could be inconsistent: his attitude toward Salvator Rosa is an example. A landscape by Salvator runs counter to most of Shaftesbury's precepts, and certainly to those of Decorum and Purpose; yet Shaftesbury praises him for his majestic grandeur.

There are certain respects in which Shaftesbury is aware of inconsistency; or rather perhaps of having been led into a problem which he cannot solve satisfactorily. One of these occurs in the "Plastics," where he discusses church art. As a rationalist in thought and a Whig in politics, he profoundly disapproved of Anglican and Catholic church art. His working notes for the "Plastics" contain observations on Christian art which even in a final and polished form would have given offence to Tory or Catholic readers. For example, one such rough note reads: "general subject, God the Father broken,

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wrapt-up, old, haggard; with carcass, a dead Christ held forth in winding-sheet, a pigeon in bosom, and a lubberly hober de hoy or two of an angel." And then: "Dilemma about the use of pictures by Christians. Either none or good." He recognized the necessity for a didactic Christian art among acknowledged Christians, but found himself in conflict with at least one of the principles laid down by the Council of Trent: namely, that representations of the Passion or of Martyrdoms must be painted with definite horror and grimness. If that be the case, what hope can there be for Decorum?

In the *Second Characters*, more than in his *Characteristics*, we see Shaftesbury as a formulator of the laws of Taste rather than as the philosopher. What we notice, and it is of course an Augustan characteristic, is that the highest form of art is that which approximates most closely to the Ideal, the Perfect, the Correct. The conception that Genius is creative was not in his philosophy.

Since Shaftesbury may justly claim to be a formulator of rules for Correct aesthetic Taste, we might for a moment consider his opinions of certain painters specifically mentioned in the four treatises of the *Second Characters*.

Raphael throughout is regarded as supreme. He is the standard of perfection by which all other painters must be judged. Titian alone is exempted. Giulio Romano he places almost equal to Raphael and praises for his unmixed, pure and simple grace.

Niccolo Poussin receives more praise than any painter besides Raphael; he is noble, judicious, correct in his use of hyperbole, free from theatricalism; he is the only Frenchman never guilty of affectation and the only Frenchman whose color is never corrupt.

Gaspar Poussin is ranked when at his best with Niccolo and even with Raphael and Titian. Domenichino, as one might expect, takes an exalted place. Indeed, Shaftesbury quotes Poussin as saying that his St. Jerome is the best picture in the world. Luca Giordano and the Carracci also, and obviously, are highly praised, and so is Salvator, as we have seen.

On the other hand, Pietro da Cortona is found to be false because like Michelangelo he overdoes the labor of his figures without showing cause for their effort. Rubens is much blamed for what he calls "the monstrous mixture of machine and history"—breaking thereby the law of Harmony. On the other hand, LeBrun is commended: he is described as the only French painter apart from Poussin worthy to be criticized.

In his contempt for Caravaggio, Ribera and Bernini, Shaftesbury shows how closely he relates ethical with aesthetic judgment. In their lives they were bad men and villains; therefore they were bad artists.

As to the Dutch, as we might expect, Brouwer and the others are detestable, odious.

Christopher Wren he also detested and violently attacked, particularly for his St. Paul's Cathedral and his Hampton Court Palace. Shaftesbury found these amateurish and vulgar.

In his other writings Shaftesbury always pursues the doctrine that aesthetics is a branch of ethics; that natural beauty, artistic beauty and moral goodness are all and equally manifestations of the Divine: he follows, as is indeed obvious, Plato and Plotinus. But in the *Second Characters*, at least in the unfinished form in which we have it, he is concerned only to establish the principles of aesthetic thought rather than of moral conduct. But, in his rough working notes for the design of the *Second Characters* as a whole, we find this note. "To remember, this the idea of the work, namely the vehicle of other problems, that is the precepts and demonstrations of real Ethics. But this hid, not to be said except in some indirect way."

As a formulator of rules, Shaftesbury not only covers the ground then recently covered by De Piles (of whom the English translation appeared in 1706), but goes very much further. De Piles explored the Art of Painting and laid down certain formulae for painting a picture in the correct taste; he also stated, in the words of the English edition, "Rules for forming a Right Judgment on the Works of the Painters." Shaftesbury also did both those things, but, as I've already said, he was concerned not so much with the *what* do I like as with the *why* do I like. He is not only the didactic critic, like De Fresny and De Piles (though he is that too), but he is the speculative philosopher. In his own Preface to "The Letter Concerning Design," he insists on the importance of the Fine Arts as a branch of philosophy and states his intention of rendering them more speculative than they have hitherto passed in the world. It is significant that Shaftesbury's *Characteristics* and the published parts of the *Second Characters* were dedicated to Lord Somers, a statesman, scholar and moral philosopher, while the English translation of De Piles was dedicated to Robert Child, a wealthy banker and fashionable connoisseur.

THE ARTIST AS TEACHER*

By Paul Burlin, Washington University, St. Louis

CREATIVE painting needs creative instruction and without hypnotic mumbo-jumbo. But let me state categorically that there is no one approach. Details of method are a personal matter, but let us shut the door on the sterile background of the academy.

When I view a student's work, I am confronted with something in the realm of the intangibles. What I look for is his particular mental attitude toward creative painting. I wish to see that in his work and if I don't, and see merely training, I know that nothing of a distinctive character has happened to the student. His early training in creative art at the university will play a part in his expression, for good or bad. And that knowledgeable side in the young student, to repeat, gives him some kind of personal introduction.

For instance, if the student's background has had academic art concepts, he has learned much of what he sees without seeing; in other words, he has accepted many dead clichés. He has learned to observe innocuous nuances whose usefulness has been vitiated. He has learned to speak accurately, so to speak, without saying anything. Perhaps he is told in the process of his learning that he is absorbing classic ideals, that it is within the great tradition of other epochs, but in the course of time he will be made to understand he cannot use them for this epoch. As Ortega E. Gasset has said, "There is but one way left to save a classic: to give up revering him and use him for our own salvation—that is, to lay aside his classicism—to make him contemporary, to set his pulse going again with an injection of blood from our own veins, whose ingredients are our passions—and our problems."

If, on the other hand, the young student has been trained with a modern point of view, if he has been taught something about the integration of form and color, the modern teacher will increase the accent along such lines, make him dare to avoid pleasant subtleties, make him dare to present his color image in the strongest possible terms. He will be able to express himself more richly. He will be prepared finally to come to terms with the world around him and to give expression to his inner needs. Academic training is

* This and the following two papers were presented as part of the discussion on "Creative Art in College Art Departments" at the annual meeting of the College Art Association in Chicago, Jan. 25, 1950.

inescapably limited by its reliance on the visual world. It does not fulfill the needs of modern man. For social man in this chaotic world has the need creatively to enlarge his unconscious phenomena.

I, as a teacher and painter, am very much interested in how the student views the life around him. What angle has he got? That is an important thing to discover and, if it is good, to develop it. His depth of experience may be limited. But for the exceptional student with many gifts, it is more than possible that intuitionally he's aware of many things, even though he may be orally unable to express them. How else can you account for the extraordinary ignorance of nature and the strange phenomena that occur within it? That intuition wisdom the teacher can only guide; he cannot teach it. Since this young, young man is slowly coming out of his chrysalis, he is eager and ready to make everything grist to his mill. He might even take up "isms"—quickly before he knows what they are about. And I will not deny him his "isms" though he might be bewildered by their confusions. In this way he fashions his direction.

To get down to the specifics of method—and I might say that the specifics of method are not a literal thing. The subject: a still life, a crab, an oyster, gears. The means: what was blue might be red for red is the key for the picture; what was pale becomes vibrant and this that I call the lie is plausible. How can I say that a head doesn't rest in the center of the shoulders? Because the head supports itself on a rhythmic line and rests surprisingly on an amorphous simile. And so we have displaced the material into the world of imagery and intangibles. The painting: what's happened to it? A reorientation of the subject, in space, color, shape, a story of the unreal, but more real than the real. Perhaps a lie or two, all to please or disturb. And in the end, the line is not the boundary of its contours only, but it is an added dimension. The line somehow suggests the aura of the picture. And we have lost all contact with mere appearances. In other words, the limited escape from the aspects of the model, leave him little choice in rearranging his material in a freer manner constructively.

You see I allow them to dare first for I can allow them later to be canny if they wish. I prefer to see the student walk boldly. My belief is that palsy of the spirit takes place quickly enough. You can see that in this method of composition the student is free in his approach.

For some time within my experience in teaching I have held once a week a bull session with the students. The associative content of the students' work is reflected in the discussion which breaks up into many facets, historical and immediate. I express certain philosophical credos, always tem-

pered by the thought that the creative artist must shun rigidities and make himself the receptacle for ideas. And so finally we have apprehended the students' work logically and sensuously which brings a form of challenge to that kind of teaching.

Two universities, Washington University and the University of Minnesota, are introducing this form of creative teaching (there might be others). The young student is made ready to accept the present, with its passion and its provocations; the past, as a pattern of civilization.

Perhaps the slow process of destroying the mustiness of their conservative background is a part of the ambivalence of colleges and universities toward the teaching of creative art, creatively. The digressions of the art historian and the art for use approach play their part. And as I see it only the practicing creative artist as teacher can destroy this ambivalence and make of creative art a vital thing in our colleges and universities.

METHODOLOGY IN TEACHER TRAINING

By Robert Iglehart, New York University

AS SOON as we have succeeded in finding the proper method," wrote Comenius, "it will be no harder to teach schoolboys, in any number desired, than with the help of the printing press to cover a thousand sheets daily with the neatest writing." And, later, "It will be as pleasant to see education carried out on my plan as to look at an automatic machine."

The 17th century here erects the type of educational goal which dominated the minds of school men until very recent times. The 19th century, fascinated as it was with the dream of the mechanical man, built educational mechanisms which in many places still endure and still publish the printed student. But the revolution in education which has occurred within our lifetimes, and which is itself only part of a larger revolution in thought, has caused us to look with no pleasure either on Comenius' "automatic" school, or on its mass-produced product.

We no longer believe, with Comenius and Locke, that men are blank sheets on which anything may be printed, "a stone out of which you may fashion any sort of figure." It is part of our educational revolution to consider that every student, regardless of what appearances may occasionally suggest, is alive. He is thus to shape as well as to be shaped: it will be as blessed for him to give as to receive. In these terms—the terms of modern educational theory, creative experience is the first principle of the classroom, and, by implication, of the community. It is within the framework of this idea that we can approach the question of creative art in relation to the preparation of teachers. Most of these notes will refer to teachers in general, not merely to special teachers of art.

The role of the teacher in the automatic school is as passive as that of the taught. The student is the machine product; the teacher is the machine tender. "I believe," writes Pestalozzi in 1801, "that we must not dream of making progress in the instruction of the people as long as we have not found the forms of instruction which make of the teacher . . . the simple mechanical instrument of a method which owes its results to the nature of its processes, and not to the ability of the one who uses it." The 19th century tried valiantly to make of the teacher—and thus inevitably of the student—a "simple mechanical instrument." Only the stubborn humanity of the parties

concerned frustrated the attempt, but the effort resulted in a degradation of the position of the teacher which still persists. Nor is this the only remaining evidence of the struggle to depersonalize the teacher: we still are too prone to separate matter from method and to rely on arming the unfit with pedagogical devices which will equip them superficially for the classroom. It is still quite possible for business men, on patriotic occasions, to refer to the schools as "the principal factories of American citizenship." And the concept of education as a compartmentalized science has, too often, a metallic ring. "Men are too complicated, too spiritual, too various, for scientific analysis," according to George Trevelyan; and they are for the same reasons impossible to educate by standard procedures in the hands of objective operators.

Genuinely creative education reestablishes the dignity of teacher and student, destroys the mass-production ideal, and inevitably rests as much upon art as upon science. It also produces an apparent confusion, an apparent difficulty in evaluation, and an intentional variety of product.

When we speak of creative education we mean, of course, more than art in its narrower sense; we mean art as a *way* of education—a method of teaching any subject or all subjects. But though we regard it possible to teach creatively in any field of activity, we make special claims on behalf of the teaching of painting or sculpture or music or poetry. These claims rest upon the purity of the aesthetic process as manifest in these activities, and the clarity with which it can be perceived and evaluated. Let me mention some specific (and always interrelated) goals:

1. An increased, an educated sensitivity; the faculty referred to by Whitehead as "aesthetic apprehension"—a necessary corollary to education by abstractions. "There is no substitute for the direct perception of the concrete achievement of a thing in its actuality." To do this, he argues, "is to increase the depth of individuality." To heighten the aesthetic apprehension, the poetic experience of the thing at the moment, is to threaten the stereotype, the abstract classification, to make experience possible, to test values by reality. The faculty of abstract clarification which serves us so well in science is precisely our enemy in the field of human relations—a field far nearer to art than to science. The notion of a universally valid method in education is ultimately based upon a uniformity among teachers or students inconsistent with our knowledge, and of greater usefulness to dictatorship than to a free society. But if the teacher is to be primarily a person and not a pedagogue, the task of teacher education becomes both more difficult and less dull; there is implied the need for more effective selection of candidates and for radical alternations in program. And it is implied to us, I believe, that

we should not make pedagogues of those incapable of poetic and creative experience, but should develop as far as possible the gifts of those who possess them.

2. An awareness of the central role of the imagination in all human activity. The denial of the imaginative and intuitive life, which characterized the physical scientist and the "practical man" of the last century, removed the arts from serious consideration and from popular understanding. This denial did not remove the imagination, but precluded its discipline: thus the insane fancies of the practical man of business have lately excited the envy of surrealists. But the scientists themselves have reinstalled the imagination as a factor in thought. We begin to hear not of the science, but of the *Poetry of History*; and an eminent physicist, Launcelot Whyte, announces by means of a lecture tour, the end of the analytical method.

J. W. N. Sullivan can now report that the mathematician "is guided chiefly by considerations of form—a criterion which is probably, at bottom, aesthetic"; Vannevar Bush can say that "a poem touches truths which go beyond those that are examinable by test tube or the indications of needles on instruments"; and the chief physicist of the atomic power project discusses, in *Fortune Magazine*, the effect upon his colleagues of the knowledge of sin. If the schools and colleges, including schools of education, can educate the imagination, the sense of form, or aid in the development of aesthetic criteria, it will almost certainly be primarily through creative experience in the arts, where these aspects of our nature are most clearly realized and involved.

3. The fostering of a discipline which is discovered and self-developed rather than imposed, which makes possible the continuous exercise of moral choice without external pressure toward conformity. Such discipline is the essential condition of style, and style is "the ultimate morality of the mind."

4. The arrival at synthesis by a synthetic method and at integration by integrated activity. The arts involve, by their nature, a whole organism—not by mustering isolated faculties at various points but by challenging the entire person to a total response.

In setting down these goals, I have virtually described the essential process of art and implied that we can affect the attitudes and functioning of future teachers through art education. These objectives would, of course, be equally valid in the preparation of any student, but special attention should be paid, in the course of teacher-education to the conscious understanding of the process of creativity. Without such an understanding the teacher will be unable to establish a situation in which the process can go on, or to

recognize it when it occurs, or to evaluate its results. One of his principal tasks is to establish an atmosphere of possibility—to make human space in which children can experience and experiment. In a real sense, this space must be largely within himself—for he must see the situation from both ends, and must be able to foresee outcomes and needs as well as stimulate and guide activities. The order of such a classroom is a human order, open to participation, dynamic, not static. It must be sensed, not measured, and is established by art, not mechanics.

If we are working in a proper direction and if we have the wit to realize our ideas, I believe we can have a tremendous effect upon the teaching of all subjects as well as upon the general attitude toward the arts. At best we can help to develop teachers able to deal in human terms with human beings and thus to provide a school, not a factory, of democratic citizenship. At the very least we may hope, by elimination, to protect children from those whose capacities are unequal to the tasks of teaching.

Before I turn to the problem of the art teacher, I would like to add two footnotes to the above:

1. I have said that activity in fields such as painting, sculpture, and poetry has special importance because of the clarity with which it can be evaluated. This runs counter to our usual assumption that in fields such as history or science the problem of evaluation is much simpler than in art. But this is true only if we regard these subjects merely as bodies of facts to be assimilated and cast up for examination. Teachers in these areas would no longer accept such a view. A teacher of science explained to me recently that he was teaching "science for life adjustment." By what instruments, and over how many years, will he evaluate his students' progress? Compared to this, the exercise of aesthetic judgment seems not more simple but more feasible.

2. I have implied that a sensitivity heightened by creative art activity will serve to widen and deepen perception in other areas of experience. To have made such a claim a few years ago would have been to invite a debate on "transfer of training." I do not think that creative art experience is training, but rather that it affects the central core of personality from which all serious responses emanate. (The recent writings of Sir Cyril Burt have been of great interest to me in this connection.)

Now, very briefly, some comments on the art teacher. No one can teach art effectively unless he himself functions as an artist, not merely in terms of "art works" or "art skills" but in his relationship to his students. The

teacher of art needs particularly an insight into personal and social problems, an understanding of the creative process more analytical than in the case of the artist who does not teach, and a sense of the relationship of this process to activity in areas other than art.

It is my belief that the next few decades will see more and more of our artists turning to teaching of one sort or another. This movement which has already begun is part of the reintegration of art with other aspects of culture, and will enrich the work of all concerned. I believe too that the colleges and universities will become increasingly important in art education, and that the separate art school will either broaden the content of its program or will tend to disappear. The separate art school is a monument to the enforced isolation of the artist, and it would seem logical to expect the development of an art education which will be related in theory and in organization to other learning. If this is to happen, however, the colleges and universities will have to alter, often radically, their present procedures. In every case these changes would be for the better. Similarly, changes are necessary to attract the teachers we need in all levels of education.

Finally, I think it should be noted that only the artist who works in the contemporary idiom can function effectively in contemporary education. The intimate relation between the education and the art of a democratic culture makes him able to teach with special conviction. The artist has been destroying the academy while education generally has been destroying the automatic and autocratic classroom with its "captive audience." The diversity, the apparent confusion, and the real human order of modern painting indicate that the academy is finished, and the painters have replaced it with a genuinely modern school.

CREATIVE TRAINING

By Stephen C. Pepper, University of California, Berkeley

IN ORDER to appreciate the role of creative training in art education, it will pay us to spend a little time first asking what we mean by the term "creative." As the model of creativity in the arts I suppose we all have in mind the activities of artists who have produced works of great aesthetic value—the activities of men like Titian, Durer, Degas, Cezanne, Picasso. We should ascribe the same creativity but to a lesser degree, I imagine, to hundreds of artists contemporary with these leading names, but whose work for one reason or another did not attain to the highest success of these men. We appear to recognize a gradation in this capacity for creativity from the most renowned artists down to the commonest man. It is, presumably, an assumption on the part of all of us who recommend instruction in the practice of art in our colleges as a means to the appreciation of the aesthetic values of an art, that there is some creative capacity, great or small, in every student, in every man, requiring only to be evoked by suitable stimulation. But when we ask ourselves what this creativity is, we inevitably think of the great artists and how they worked. If the least endowed of us can have our creative capacities stirred even to a little production, it will, we believe, unite us to a degree of common understanding with the greatest creative artists and their achievements.

But, again, what is this creative activity? If we keep our eyes on the works of the great men, and on the works and activities of the lesser men whom we know and see about us and who seem to be working for similar ultimate ideals, however diverse their styles, certain traits come out.

First, the creative activity is not the acquisition of a motor, or even a mental, skill or technique alone, however essential a technique may be to a fully successful creative work. Good craftsmanship is a characteristic of nearly all the most successful achievements in art. But it is a means and not an end. Practically every school of art develops a new craftsmanship peculiar to the school. Even erudite and sensitive critics are frequently fooled by the emergence of a new craftsmanship which they mistake for slovenliness because it is novel and is instrumental to a new style of aesthetic production the ideals of which have not yet been taken in. The widespread recent criticism of modern movements on the score of poor craftsmanship is probably of this sort—a lack of appreciation of the values inherent in the modern movements and consequently of the nature of the techniques suitable for

achieving them. The impressionists seemed like slovenly technicians to the nineteenth century classicists, and, of course, many impressionists were poor ones and slovenly, but the impressionistic technique was intrinsically as exacting as the linear draftsmanship of Ingres or David. Training in a technique is not necessarily creative activity. It may be just the opposite. And as spontaneous child art has shown, extraordinary creative results of limited range can come from a completely untrained hand. Creative activity and technical facility are not at all the same thing, even though they are interconnected.

Secondly, creative activity is not an imitative activity. Passive copying of a painting or a drawing is not creative. It is true that artists have frequently learned a lot by making copies of other artists' paintings. But often the copies are obviously new paintings as were Cezanne's and Van Gogh's. It is the dynamics of the copying that makes the difference. Cezanne would sit down before a Delacroix and put some strokes on his canvas analogous to strokes of Delacroix and then would feel the demand of those strokes for others just as Delacroix had, and in satisfying that demand in himself a picture unfolded before him that was his own creative production even though stimulated constantly by Delacroix' picture. Even a very faithful copy by an artist who feels his way through the problems and solutions of the picture he is copying may be a creatively rewarding act. But it would be so only because the artist copying was recreating the work of the artist copied. A creative artist would hardly be prompted to copy a picture, however, unless he found in the picture solutions of problems he was struggling with, and desired to follow minutely just how the solution was achieved. Dynamic copying may be a creative activity. But passive copying, which is so easily dropped into, is entirely opposed to creation.

This fact is so far recognized that an artist whose work is highly reminiscent of another artist's is suspect. Even though the work is not a copy literally, and even though great artists have worked so nearly in the style of their masters that some of their early works can be mistakenly ascribed, still the creative quality is open to question. Again the dynamics of the production is what appears to make the difference. Is the work a mechanical rearrangement of the characteristic traits of the master? If so, this is not a creative product. Or is the work a satisfaction of impulses arising in its production and solved within the work, the product resembling the style of the master only because the apprentice has so deeply absorbed into his own personality many attitudes of the master? If this is the reason, the work is creative.

Not mere technique, not mere passive copying, then, quite clearly (and we need not go further with our exclusions, for now we are on the scent), it is the dynamics of the act that determines its creativity. If the dynamics of the activity develop within the work itself, so that the demands which emerge in the productive process arise out of the work itself and are satisfied within it, then it is a creative achievement. When we understand what is referred to, all sorts of paradoxical descriptions of the process become quite transparent. In creative activity the work produces itself. In creative activity, one forgets oneself, or is carried out of oneself. In creative activity, it is as if some other power were working through the artist and he was a mere instrument of the process. But also in creative activity, one's work is an expression of one's self and of one's times as reflected through one's self. And in such activity one gains exhilaration and relief and sometimes definite therapeutic effects. Most important in the context of the present session in which we are contributing, however, is the fact that through experience with creative activity in an art one gets an inner grasp of the nature of a work of art and of its aesthetic values.

The importance of placing considerable emphasis upon the creative practice of an art in college art instruction is that by this activity a student may acquire an intuitive sense of the aims of an artist and the values derivative from the dynamics of his production.

How is this dynamic activity to be induced in the student? Not, as we have seen, by training in techniques or by copying the works of masters. That is why I do not feel that instruction in the various techniques of painting appended to history of art courses is adequate, nor the copying of drawings of the masters. Such practice of art is better than no practice at all, but it should not be confused with practice in the sense of creative production. How is this latter to be obtained? It is not likely to be obtained from instructors who do not know what it is. That is why it seems very important to me to have as practice art instructors actual creative artists—the best that can be found who are good artists and also good teachers. The students learn much about creative activity just by being in the company of such men. Worldly success other than recognition of their productive ability means as little to them as to the true scholar and laboratory scientist. Nor do they generally set their abilities on a pedestal as something to be seen only at a distance and not to be touched. On the contrary, they expect everybody to regard their activities as the most significant thing in the world, and are only surprised to find people who do not understand them and have never created anything at all. This attitude itself is disarming to resistance. Stu-

dents find that artists are human and that art is too. Then there is a contagion about creativity. The criticism of a creative artist who is also a good teacher is itself a creative act. The instructor projects himself into the student's work and the work itself moves forward creatively under the joint impulsion of student and artist instructor. The artist's creative activity moves sympathetically or empathically with the student's and the student reciprocally senses the greater creative power of the instructor and acquires a momentum and an attitude of thought and feeling which gradually according to the student's capacity gives him power. A good creative teacher imparts his dynamic attitude to the student by a sort of contagion. His criticism is not passive but active. He takes the role of the student who is induced to perceive himself as he might have been if he had had the creative powers of his teacher, and these creative powers gradually accrue to himself. The work is his own but lifted to a higher level of creative capacity with each critical communication of his teacher.

I am no doubt describing an ideal of a constructive teacher of creative art. And such teaching is not restricted to the arts but may be found wherever the constructive imagination is at work. But my point is that it is not technical drill, nor the acquisition of a mechanical skill, nor the systematization and memorizing of facts and principles, nor even logical inference or mathematical deduction, nor the assemblage of data for the construction of explanatory hypotheses. It is another mode of instruction entirely, and a mode natural to any teacher of creative art who has a desire to impart his capacities to others. Not all good creative artists are good teachers of their art, but good teachers of art are no more uncommon than good teachers of history, science, or language. The one prerequisite for a good creative art teacher is that he should be a creative artist of integrity himself. He need not be a great artist. Many artists have the creative ability, but lack something of greatness. Only a handful in a generation can attain greatness. But there are still hundreds with exceptional creative powers, and among these are many who can impart these powers to others, and these are the potential teachers of creative activity. Not that top level artists may not also be fine teachers, but there will never be enough of these to go around, and second level men can be just as fine or better as teachers of the creative process.

Must a man be a creative artist himself in order to impart the insights of the creative activity to others? Is there no other means of inducing creativity? No doubt there are other means. Small children create so spontaneously that much can be done for them by simply giving them painting materials and leaving them alone. They seem to be naturally creative within their

mental limitations, if older people can only leave them to their own devices. Here a good teacher is like a good doctor, as described by some wit, as a man who merely removes the obstacles to natural good health.

Just what the aesthetic values are which emerge from acquisition of creative ability, I have not dwelt upon. These, I assume, you will all recognize and approve. They include, of course, an expanded capacity of pleasurable satisfaction in all works of art with techniques analogous to the one acquired. Indeed, creative ability in one technique gives some degree of insight into creative activity in any medium. There is an expansion of one's range of delight in works of art almost indefinitely. But not only does it increase the spread of our surface delights, it adds enormously to our depth of insight into the inner dynamics of a work of art. It converts a work of art from a passive stimulus into a systematic purposive activity. Every detail of the work finds its purpose in relation to other details, in relation to the medium, in relation to the tools, and also to the emotional and cultural interests embodied in it. In consequence the vividness of the perception is increased. In short, the work acquires a life of its own from the projection of our increased interest in it.

I have been speaking so far only of the values for the appreciative spectator from familiarity with the process of artistic creation. It also has some values for the pure historian. I do not mention its values to the art critic which are obvious since a critic must be first of all a reliable appreciator. The saying that a critic is an unsuccessful artist is an unpleasant way of stating an important truth about a perceptive and responsible art critic. He should be a man who has tried to create, and knows what the trying means and what it is aiming for. If he finds that from this knowledge and a gift to make it articulate he can be of use in helping others to understand and appreciate works of art, he has the makings of a good critic. If added to these traits he has a good historical background, and a philosophic sense for sound critical standards, tolerance, and judgment for applying the standards, then we have the essence of a great critic. A critic should, of course, have an intimate acquaintance with the creative process. And almost equally in the matter of course, he will not be an outstanding creative artist, for then he would not have the time nor the interest to be a well grounded critic. A great critic is a genius in his own right. Rarely is a great critic a good artist, or a great artist a good critic. But both must know what the creative process is.

But to return to the art historian. It is quite probably true that many unquestionably excellent art historians have had no experience with the creative process, at least in the field of their subject matter. There is much to

investigate about a work of art as a cultural document for which a purely historical training is sufficient. But there is a limit to research in the field of art which omits observation of some of the central facts about the objects investigated. For a work of art is not only an object produced at a certain time and place, the effect of certain cultural convergencies, a source for others, a set of particular stylistic traits, an evidence for some far reaching anthropological hypothesis; it is also the embodiment of certain human values. Most of the objects studied in the history of art have been selected by these human values. The objects were treasured, buried with the dead, incorporated in temples and palaces, bought at high prices, protected in galleries and museums. The values are defining characteristics of the works. They are facts closely relevant to them. The value itself as it occurred and caused the object to be placed in a tomb, or hung on a wall, is, of course, gone, just as the artist who made it is gone. But the value is just as much an historical fact as the artist who created the work. The process of creation, and the act of treasuring a creation, are historical facts as truly as the man who made it and the king buried with it. The nature of the work derives from the values embodied in its creation. An acquaintance with the creative process may be very revealing of many of the traits of a work of art under historical study.

This fact is being recognized today in the training of art historians, at least to the extent of their being made acquainted with some of the principal techniques of painting and sculpture. But acquaintance with a technique is not yet enough. The Italian marble cutters are amazing technicians, but not in the least creative artists. There is no substitute for some direct acquaintance with the creative process. And some of us are doing our best to provide that prospective art historians obtain some exposure to this activity.

THE SECONDARY SCHOOL ART TEACHER*

By Roberta M. Alford, Rhode Island School of Design

WHILE my two colleagues on the panel can supply firsthand experience from the field of teacher training, it occurred to me that possibly from my second-hand knowledge of school teachers acquired as it has been through years of museum teaching, some conclusions of general interest might be drawn. It is, of course, mostly the better secondary school teachers who bring their classes to the museum, there to turn them over thankfully to the museum instructor to be given not only a first-hand introduction to the arts of the past and present but also to be taught the art history which the teachers themselves are rarely trained to handle.

Even among these above-average teachers, I have not had the luck to encounter many really first-raters. Three come immediately to mind, and only three. One was a practicing artist of art school training, widely cultivated tastes and an insatiable curiosity; one was a woman trained in a teachers' college with all the pedagogical trimmings, a master's degree in art history, and the habit of alternately going to Europe or to an artists' colony to paint or "sculpt" in the summers; the third was a college-trained scientist who gave up physics for the arts and education. One cannot generalize on the basis of such haphazard evidence, but one can at least recognize the danger of dogmatizing as to the proper training for the secondary school art teacher. One thing my three teachers had in common was the habit of artistic activity for private satisfaction, and I believe this may after all be one of the major requirements of good teaching at the secondary school level. However, here we come close to the dangerous ground of personality rather than of training, and while the statement that good teachers are born and not made is a truism to which we would probably all subscribe, it is not a very useful or realistic basis for discussion of our problem.

The average secondary school teacher of art has seemed to me to be preoccupied first and last with technical problems, and to embrace rather indiscriminately a kind of academic modernism which mistakes the shell for the substance. Understanding of the genesis of art in the human per-

* This and the following paper by Stephen Pepper were part of the panel on "Art Education in College Art Departments" at the Chicago Meeting of the College Art Association Jan. 26, 1950.

sonality and in the social-economic and spiritual matrix in which it is imbedded, is generally absent from the mental equipment of the art teacher. Nor does he seem much concerned with the function of art in human life. I once had the good fortune to hear a labor leader and educator address a congress of artists and teachers of art. He placed squarely on our shoulders the responsibility of interpreting the worker's job to the worker in its relevance to the wider context of the whole social organism. The responsibility of putting meaning into life he laid first of all at the door of "you super-teachers, you artists." The artist does not only hold up a mirror to life; if he is worth his salt, he interprets its values. The question that we are facing today is, where can the art-teacher best be trained to teach art from this point of view. Or, to put it another way, is the art-school trained artist or the college-trained art historian better able to give the secondary school student practice in handling both his tools and his subject matter?

In this connection my mind turns to an exhibition of contemporary New England painting and sculpture which we have currently on our museum walls. It happens to represent the work of mainly young little-known men and women, not more than ten or twelve years older than our own Rhode Island School of Design students. In the show, the level of technical competence is high, and there is a marked sensitivity to qualities of paint, of color and of line. It is a decorative exhibition, a mild pleasure to have on the walls, but almost no single work is finally very rewarding. Most of the paintings tend to be abstract, leaning more toward Dali and Ernst than toward Mondrian, though almost every contemporary style finds its echoes. The mood as a whole is feverish, nightmarish, hysterical—but not tragic. As one old man said to me in the gallery, "full of sound and fury, signifying nothing." I can find in this contemporary show no image of the wholeness or "holiness" of nature; no symbol of the dignity and stature of man of which these artists' own generation has furnished its heroic quota.

Are these the men and women, most of them fresh out of art school, highly skilled technicians but spiritually confused and emotionally immature, to whom we would entrust the teaching of our younger adolescents who are still in secondary school? They hardly seem equipped to "educate through art" in the enlightened phrase of Herbert Read.

Let us consider the art student who in four years will be exhibiting in these regional shows and who may be teaching either in college or secondary school. Twice during the past week I had what was to me a profoundly disquieting experience. In the course of the week, successive tutorial groups in our introductory course for Freshmen at the Rhode Island School of Design

were discussing in the museum galleries the diverse nature of imagery. To clarify the problem of expressing an abstract idea in an artifact image I asked a student to suppose that he had been commissioned to paint a mural for a courtroom in which the central theme was to be Justice. Two students in different groups equated justice with punishment, and suggested a ball and chain or a gallows as suitable symbols. For them there was no need to put a balance in one hand to offset the sword! Justice and punishment were all one. There was some remonstrance from other members of the class but it lacked warmth and conviction. As far as I could tell, there was no one among those dozen or so young people of 18 to 22 who attached any feeling to the abstract ideas under discussion.

Cynicism in the twenty-year-old art student is enough to give one pause; enough to make one question seriously the kind of teaching he has had in secondary school, to say nothing of that begun at home. And it is especially so since such cynicism, easy and lazy as it is, was not present among the G.I.'s who filled our classes three and four years ago. It is a sorry commentary on the art teachers whose field is essentially one of values that students come from their hands with a cynicism that their older brothers did not bring back from Guadalcanal or the beaches of Normandy.

Is the art school curriculum itself going to give these young cynics a chance to discover the importance of ideas as such, and some experience of the heights to which humanity has aspired and will aspire again? In our particular School, which is unusual among technical art schools in that it grants a Baccalaureate degree, the student takes in his Freshman year a basic design course which is a pre-requisite to all departmental majors except those of mechanical design and textile engineering. With certain related technical courses, this one provides the foundation for design as practiced in modern industry and in the fine arts. In addition, the beginning student takes a course in English composition and one in the social theory of art. The English composition is followed up in the second year by two hours a week of a survey of English literature; while the fine arts major and the major in industrial design, are required to take two more years of art history. Three years of art history and two of English should allow opportunity for the student to orient himself to some degree at least in the stream of history, and to experience some of the best that has been thought and expressed in the literature and art of the past and present.

The admirable theory that the so-called humanities should be interlocked with the technical courses so that they mutually sustain each other has yet to be fully realized in practice. No matter how the art historian and

the technical instructor in the design course "cooperate," so long as either or both shirk the responsibility of dealing with ideas and values, with the thought and feeling that the students' beautifully designed abstractions are capable of conveying, then we will continue to produce artists who are merely technicians and not worthy to be teachers. Eventually and ideally, the artist will have to be trained to accept his dual responsibility as maker of our material world, and interpreter of its human values for others of possibly less insight and perceptive sensitivity.

In the education program of a museum, one comes constantly up against the question of where to put one's weight: shall the museum be content to cooperate with art teachers in schools, trying to supply the historical context and to explain the spiritual and aesthetic content of strange arts to students and teachers alike, or shall we try to crack the much harder nut of the social studies? By and large, the primary concern of most social studies teachers is with the history of social organization, with the economic and political means by which men have tried to secure a constantly larger measure of the good life for a constantly increasing number of people. What constitutes the "good life," the historic record of those spiritual values that greater leisure and freedom from want and fear leave us in a position to enjoy, are either left out of the syllabus entirely or are allowed in by the back door for the briefest of passing encounters with the student. The history teacher is apt to believe his responsibilities to the arts discharged if the class learns the names of a few outstanding artists and architects, and a "famous" work of each.

I remember that at a meeting of social studies teachers in New York City I attempted to demonstrate that David's "Death of Socrates," and the "Oath of the Horatii" were as important to students of the French Revolution as the "Oath of the Tennis Court." It was kindly explained to me that historians could take an interest in art that actually illustrated historical events, but that to look for a formal expression of ideas and ideals in anything but written records was rather a waste of time. Such an attitude derives from a number of circumstances with which we have no concern today, one of which is of course the pressure under which teachers labor to cover an enormous body of knowledge in a woefully short time. But it is also due to the fact that the history teacher does not trust his students with his colleagues of the art department for fear they will waste his students' precious time. If our secondary school art teachers were really artists, not only makers but also interpreters, they would be in a better position to break down this inter-departmental distrust. If they were trained historically and philosophically

as well as technically, they would be better able to command the respect of their colleagues and so to collaborate with them in the education of the young. Perhaps as we look back on almost fifty years of Art History as a recognized discipline in colleges and universities, we may wonder whether this isn't the unsolved problem: how to interpret art to the historians and history in all its richness and variousness to the artist. When we have solved this problem, we shall have learned to educate as well as train our artists, and the professional artist will have an acknowledged place on the faculty of every college or university art department. And then it will no longer matter whether our secondary school art teacher comes from an art school or from a college department, whether he is an artist or an historian. He will be both, in interest if not in professional standing.

THE PROBLEM OF TEACHER TRAINING IN ART

By Stephen C. Pepper, University of California, Berkeley

THE first assumption I wish to make is that a teacher of art should have knowledge and feeling for his subject. And my first deduction from this assumption is that the education of a trained teacher of art should be centered in a department of art rather than (or, at least, as well as) in a school of education.

A plea might have some bare justification that the techniques of teaching are more essential than a profound knowledge of the subject matter of mathematics, history, or science in the elementary teaching of these subjects. But in the arts it is values that are the central subject matter, not facts of information or skills. Unless the trained teachers have absorbed these values from very able teachers who have themselves absorbed them and devoted their lives to them, the injury to students which tasteless teachers can do far outweighs the good that might come from mere activity in the field of the subject. Better no teaching at all in art than an authoritative inculcation of meretricious values and philistine conventions.

Moreover, the injury is most serious in the most elementary teaching. Where, as in art, it is emotional attitudes that are being set up in the elementary teaching of the subject, there is particular need of complete soundness of attitude and insight on the part of the elementary teacher. It is beginning to be seen that perhaps the highest salaries should be paid to the teachers of the lowest school grades rather than to the upper grades where a bad teacher can do much less harm. It is also beginning to be seen that education of emotions is at least as important a part of the development of a man as the education of his intellect.

The small child is particularly susceptible to emotional molding, and art is one of the most effective subjects of emotional cultivation. Plato and Aristotle knew this well and so did the medieval church. It is one of the blind spots of the age of rationalism that emotions are believed not to count. From the axiom that emotional bias must be eliminated from scientific method and results, it has been taken for granted that emotions should be eliminated—period. The proper inference, of course, is that the emotions should be studied and brought within the area of rational observation and treated as facts, and developed and controlled for human benefit just as

carefully and thoroughly as chemical atoms. There are still rationalists even in the ranks of the college art teachers who tend to handle art as something from which emotions should be eliminated. Within limits the study of the unemotional data of art is justified and necessary; but probably only insofar as they eventually bring insight into the personal and cultural (and that means in part the emotional) values of the subject matter.

It is strange that we should have to remind ourselves and others so frequently that our subject matter is one of human values. But this thought, so relevant to art education, does seem to keep slipping out of our minds.

Indeed, just having made the point, I fear it will immediately start slipping away again on another slide. I fear some of us may admit the point but only with the qualification of externality. By this qualification I mean the notion that a rational man, an art historian, or an aesthetician, or any broad-minded teacher of art should, of course, study the emotional attitudes embodied in works of art as cultural documents or individual expressions but should not permit himself to become personally involved in them. It is the notion that he should in all rationality and for the unbiased truth of his observations remain external to these emotional attitudes. Never should he emotionally enter into a work of art or experience the excitement it gave the artist or his school or his age, for it might render the description of data prejudiced. Once more, the rational inference is rather that the observer should to the best of his ability experience the emotional attitudes embodied just so that his descriptions may be that much more precise. Externality of observation and description is only appropriate where the relevant data are external to an organism. Externality is inappropriate (and indeed often distortive) where the relevant data are in part emotional attitudes internal to an organism. It is just for this reason that it is widely recommended that students in history and criticism of art should practice art in some degree so that they may have intuitive internal information of what the artists were doing in the works studied, and actually perceive relevant data that might otherwise escape them.

In short, the subject matter of art is essentially values and the emotional attitudes carrying these values. Consequently, it is these a teacher of art must have acquired in order that they may be taught. A well conducted art department imparts these values. Hence a teacher of art should be directed for his substantive training to such an art department, and the school of education should develop methods which conform to the substantive training.

This appears to me to be the basic principle of sound art education. Why is it rarely put into practice? For two reasons. First, art departments

often do not impart the intrinsic values of art or not sufficiently to help prospective art teachers. Second, the preparation provided in schools of education seems to stress techniques of teaching rather than values to be elicited. Yet, on the whole, I gather that teachers of education are doing more to meet the problem just now than teachers of art. The result is that art departments are often developed within schools of education. Sometimes you will find a history of art department in the liberal arts college of a university but the practice of art department incorporated in the school of education. Such a situation is surely an anomaly, as if the practice of art were educational but not liberal and the history of art were liberal but not educational.

Practice and history of art should be together in one art department, where they can fertilize each other and where each student gets an insight into the creative activity from practice under genuinely creative artists and a broad view of the cultural sweep and variety of art from genuinely scholarly historians. From such training a prospective teacher obtains those attitudes towards art which we call good taste and sound understanding. These, as I have been maintaining, constitute the substantive part of an art teacher's training whether in college or high school or kindergarden. To get these an art teacher's education should be centered in an art department.

But these are not enough for an art teacher, except for high school and college teaching. Especially for the teaching of very young children—those below eight or ten—a lot of knowledge of the normal development of human perceptions, emotions, and creative capacities, is necessary, together with knowledge of educational methods, to draw out the artistic capacities of children.

In the nature of the situation art departments in colleges and universities are geared to the mature student. Yet some of the most important art teaching is directed upon the—I almost said—"immature student." Yet the word "immature" is quite out of place here. I mean, of course, the small child. The astonishing thing about a child's spontaneous creation is that it is not in any sense incomplete. There is nothing "immature" in the sense of incomplete in a child's uninhibited expression with plastic materials. It is at this point that Croce's aesthetic insight can be taken deeply to heart—his view that art is expression and that any pure expression is art and is beautiful. Ugliness enters when the expression is broken in upon by imitation, convention, concepts of the ideals of others, practical concerns, and authoritarian guidance. And these things are just what parents and teachers until very recently have with the kindest intentions imposed upon their

children's art, successfully thereby getting from their children really immature, banal, and ugly reflections of the older people's conceptions of artistic production. The complacent parent and teacher meantime lacked sufficient aesthetic understanding to recognize the beauty of their children's pure expressions, if ever these occasionally leaked through their painstaking misguidance. Like the teacher who was heard to remark to a child, "Well, then, at least you are not color-blind," when her pupil brought her a drawing of a brown cow after being chided for having expressed his imaginative delight in a violet cow.

Because the chances of such misguidance are so great, the best general advice for elementary teaching in art, I am sure, is to give children the means and the time to make pictures and confine the function of all but the most carefully trained art teachers to keeping order. A child's spontaneous expression is evidence of so much better taste than any ordinary parent's or teacher's that the best thing for them to do is to say nothing. It takes a great amount of aesthetic understanding for a teacher to be able to guide a child to something better than the child's own unguided expressions.

In fact, it begins to look as though the function of an elementary teacher of art should consist simply in freeing the child from all obstacles in the way of his own pure free expression. The teacher's training is that of being able to distinguish pure expression from spurious imitation and to encourage the former to come out—never to instruct until a fairly advanced age when a child wants to learn some technique to improve his powers of expressing on paper what he perceives aesthetically. Until the most advanced stages of art teaching, the chief function of a good teacher is to keep a student from emulating ideas and ways not his own.

How often we hear the college art instructor utter the wish that his students had not had art instruction before! A lot of a good instructor's time is occupied in undoing an earlier teacher's instructions so that a student can become free to perceive and to compose a picture again. So, better no instruction in art before college other than ample opportunity to paint, or else the thoroughly trained teacher with a full understanding and appreciation of the subject matter and of the stages of perceptual and emotional development through which a child normally passes in his growth.

One of the most important movements in art education is the work being done towards the description of the normal development of a child's powers of expression. There is, I understand, considerable controversy in this area of investigation. Some of the hypotheses offered are too simple to cover the data available. But there seems to be a good deal of mutual confirmation of

many of the details. There may be several lines of normal development and numerous branchings. Of one thing these investigations make us quite certain, and that is that a child's expressions are not haphazard or purely conditioned by environmental circumstance. There is some sort of determined sequence of emotional, perceptual, and cognitive capacities which are the ground for spontaneous creative expression in the visual field.

If this is true, the task of an art teacher is to acquire an understanding of this sequence, so that he can discriminate spontaneous expressions when they emerge in a child's work and find means of encouraging their emergence. This amounts to a sort of emotional education. The techniques required are more like those of a psychiatrist than those of the traditional teacher which depended upon conditioning by reward and punishment or upon competitive action, or upon cooperative projects. And just because such teaching induces emotional growth, it has exceptional promise for the development of mental stability and health. In fact, the benefits of such teaching may not be limited to the lower grades, but may be extended even into college teaching where clearly more traditional methods are appropriate for much of the art instruction. A grown-up student whose emotional life has been stifled may need a lot of inducement to allow himself free expression. When the expression comes, it may be quite childlike, and part of good instruction may consist in keeping the student from becoming ashamed of his emotional naïvete. But through such instruction a student may for the first time discover the joy of spontaneous expression and a capacity for the production of objects of considerable, and possibly of great, beauty.

Lest it should be thought that I am espousing a purely emotional and expressive theory of art instruction, let me sketch the stages of art education as I envisage them at present.

First stage—the young child up to seven or eight years or the period when he begins to be interested in technical matters and social relationships. In this stage, the child's expressive capacities should be drawn out. The average teacher should be instructed to abstain in every way from trying to guide the child in his activities, and to seek only to give the child the materials and the impetus to draw and paint. But a highly experienced teacher, well trained in art, child psychology, and educational methods of art instruction for small children, could actively guide the children towards progressively richer and more complete and satisfying modes of expression in visual media. This could possibly be one of the most rewarding and illuminating aspects of the education of the small child.

Second stage—from eight or ten to relative maturity of growth at, say,

high school age. In this stage, when the child wants to acquire technical skill, an art teacher should be prepared to instruct him in a variety of techniques, and show some of the simpler principles of composition. This is also the stage when cooperative projects are apparently suitable. It seems to me that instruction in art should never be compulsory in the later grades. And no matter how unpracticed a child in drawing and painting, provision should always be made for him whenever he becomes interested to try.

By high school age, third stage, a good deal of formal instruction in art can profitably be given. The instructor should, I believe, by now be at least something of an artist himself, a person of talent well trained in a sound college art department. He should teach mainly by personal criticism of his students' work, trying to induce a dynamic creative activity, and not mere technical facility, nor results solely for the pleasure of parents and townspeople. Definitely, the teacher guides this activity towards visual aesthetic excellence according to the capacity and interests of the student. Critical and appreciative exposure to original works of art at museums, or, lacking originals, to slides and reproductions, is appropriate at this stage. Some instruction in art history can be fruitful.

In college, however, the fourth stage, the student should have access to creative art courses given by the ablest artists available, to well organized lecture and discussion courses in criticism and appreciation, and to history of art courses given by the ablest scholars available in the subject. Any method of teaching that gives the student an understanding of the aesthetic and cultural values of art should be available, to the end of inducing those attitudes of perception and discerning enjoyment in art and nature which we call good taste, and that tolerance and sympathy with the ideals of diverse groups and cultures which constitute liberality.

MATERIAL CULTURE, THE MUSEUM AND PRIMITIVE ART*

By Erna Gunther, University of Washington

PRIMITIVE art is a newcomer in the traditional art gallery and even in the ethnological museum it is now sometimes presented as art rather than just baskets, fish hooks and amulets. These changes have come gradually and have an interesting history. While it cannot be definitely claimed that anthropologists of this century introduced primitive art to the modern art world, it is probably fair to say that their knowledge of remote cultures, both in time and space, have brought to the attention of artists, achievements in this field that might otherwise have long remained undiscovered. Not only has the anthropologist new parts of the world to suggest but new media of art. The European has devoted his attention primarily to painting and sculpture and often overlooked other media in his own culture. In a primitive art collection there are pieces of pottery like the portrait jars of Peru, beadwork of the Plains Indians, feather trimmed basketry of the Pomo of California, ribbon applique from the modern Indians of Oklahoma, painted bark cloth from the South Pacific or pile embroidered palm textile from the Congo of Africa.

Can these techniques and materials produce fine arts or should they be classed with the decorative arts? This distinction is arbitrary and is gradually being modified as the art horizon expands. Even to include the arts of China and Japan, the materials and techniques in the traditional European art field have had to change. It is realized now that the medium chosen by the artist depends entirely on the culture in which he lives and it is the style of execution and depth of feeling in the work that matters. In Peru a gentleman has a portrait jar modeled instead of having his likeness reproduced on a flat piece of canvas with oil colors. In a more abstract fashion, a chief from the North Pacific Coast prefers a representation of his family crest carved in cedar to any reproduction of his own features. The materials differ but the opportunity for artistic achievement is ever present and with greater knowledge of these less known media, the modern artist may find means for new modes of expression.

The collections in ethnological museums have included many examples of primitive art but they have been shown casually as part of a culture, with stress on the function of the *pièce* rather than its artistic merit. In an art

* Read at the annual meeting of the College Art Association, Chicago, January 26, 1950.

gallery the accent is on quality and the finest examples of an artist or a period are shown. These contrasting methods are based on a fundamentally different philosophy. The ethnological museum has as its primary objective the interpretation of a way of life while the art gallery looks for significant achievements by an individual artist or a group representing a region or period. Both styles of exhibitions are important. But in recent years the artist has become more aware of the art forms of other cultures which are hidden in ethnological displays and some of these treasures have been brought out of their old settings and displayed as art objects.

African sculpture in the Colonial Exposition in Paris in 1927 led the way and its enthusiastic reception may be due to the fact that it was sculpture and therefore could be more easily assimilated into the European tradition. In America the first large showing of primitive art was at the Golden Gate Exposition in 1939 when the Pacific Cultures exhibition included South Pacific, North Pacific Coast Indian and pre-Columbian Mexico and Peru; and The Bureau of Indian Arts and Crafts of the Department of the Interior under Mr. René d'Harnoncourt assembled a great show of American Indian art from archaeological to contemporary pieces. Since these arts need more interpretation than our traditional ones, a great effort was made to give them cultural as well as artistic meaning. The diversity of American Indian cultures was stressed and the art of each great area highlighted. Yet these exhibitions freed themselves from the older ethnological techniques of display and moved toward the "quality" show of the art gallery.

These shows were followed by the American Indian Art exhibition at the Museum of Modern Art before the war, and the Arts of the South Pacific, after the war had increased the popular interest in that region. Both of these exhibitions were accompanied by excellent books on the material and background, carrying out the idea of extensive interpretation for these lesser known cultures.

On the Pacific coast again the de Young Museum in San Francisco collected a fine exhibition of African art in 1948 and published an extensive catalogue. Scripps College had a pre-Columbian show and followed it with a month-long exhibition of American Indian Art in February, 1950. Following the San Francisco Fair, the Seattle Art Museum and the Portland Art Museum each had an exhibition of North Pacific Coast Indian Art drawn largely from the collections of the Washington State Museum at the University of Washington. The same exhibition was shown at the Mills College Art Gallery in 1945 and was followed in 1946 by a display of Eskimo art, also from Washington. The Portland Art Museum has now acquired the

Rasmussen Collection of North Pacific Coast Indian art, one of the fine modern collections, which is on permanent display.

These are introductory shows and all present large areas from cultures little known in the art world so that the exhibition attracts partly on its novelty. What more can be done for primitive art? The anthropologist who has studied the field for some time has developed some ideas that should be as important to the art student as they are in his own field.

In the history of art there have been some very generalized and uninformed statements about the beginnings of art and the arts in primitive groups with little knowledge of specific work in these fields. Through anthropological studies it has been clearly shown that unilinear evolution is no more true in the field of art than in any other field of culture. Geometric art does not always precede realistic art nor is the reverse true. In other words, the large general statements on primitive art are untenable, and art, like all other cultural features, must be studied carefully within each society where it occurs. Nor can anthropologists subscribe to the comparison of primitive art with the art of children of our culture. The art of primitive people is produced by adults who are surrounded by a cultural tradition in which they have been trained and therefore is not comparable to that of a child who is still only partially acculturated and has no technical skill. The so-called "naïve" quality of these two types of art is only superficially alike and developed primarily by critics, not participants in the art. And speaking of the participants in art brings me to another important point which the anthropological student of art has made, namely, that an art should be criticised by people of the culture producing it. We, in our society, have developed an art criticism which is, of course, based on our own art heritage and its narrow scope is not realized until its criteria are applied to an art beyond its field. When our critics choose the best, for instance in African sculpture, would their choices necessarily agree with those of a native, even an artist, of that culture? Probably not—and to the anthropologist the answer lies in the fact that art standards differ. To prove this, several field studies have been made by anthropologists who took sizeable collections from museums back to the places from which they came and discussed the merits of individual pieces with natives. On many items they agreed, but often divergent opinions brought differing standards of beauty into the discussion. A stimulating and interesting exhibition could be built around this idea.

The anthropologist is also interested in art style; first in its analysis as a matter of definition, then in its spread or diffusion from one culture to another, and finally in its history. These three points are closely interrelated.

First, an analysis of style is essential to show the range within which native artists can create. If there were not such limitations it would be impossible to place any work of art. The shape of a Han pot, its animated frieze at the break between the neck and the body, the handles of the bronze jar it imitated worked into the pottery, its green or golden brown glazes; by these traits we recognize the piece. In some art styles of primitive peoples, the range of design is very limited, yet their ability to use it with freshness and imagination leads a student who has handled hundreds of baskets from the same tribe to state that duplicate pieces are rarely found. After a tribal style is defined the next problem is to relate it to that of neighbors in space and antecedents in history. When preliterate peoples are under consideration, archaeology and documented materials in museum collections are valuable assets. Studies of such differences of art styles, either projected relationships or documented ones, can also be the basis of stimulating exhibitions. In September, 1949, on the occasion of the meeting of the International Congress of Americanists in New York, the American Museum of Natural History set up a very provoking and exciting exhibition of Transpacific likenesses in art styles. A dance wand from Indonesia compared with one from the Northwest Coast of America, designs of the Amur River natives compared to ancient China. For the cautious scholar much still remains to be proven in most of these superficial likenesses. Art styles cannot travel great distances, lie dormant for centuries and suddenly emerge again. Furthermore the spread of an art style usually does not occur alone, other features of the culture go with it, so that the general configuration of culture in which the art is found must be known to make any such study a sound one. In many an archaeological situation the intrusion of a new art style is indicative of the movement of people and generally of great significance in the history of the local people. The diffusion of art styles is an important study and it must be handled with great care.

In the study of art styles it also becomes apparent that even though primitive art does not change as rapidly as styles do in modern society, it is by no means static. Therefore the history of a primitive art style, if it can be chronologically documented, may be used as an index of cultural change. An example of this is the study of the westward movement of Plains Indian art style during the latter part of the eighteenth century and early nineteenth century until white pressure disrupted Indian life.

As the scholar in primitive art is turning more to the study of museum collections, he expects to find properly documented material that will carry sufficient weight to make his theories based on such documentation acceptable. It has been desirable always in the ethnological museum to record as

much information with each specimen as could be obtained and it hoped that as the art gallery begins to collect in the primitive field, such documentation will not be forgotten. Tribe and exact location, date of collection and collector are all important in establishing as a museum asset a piece that gives not only aesthetic pleasure but also can be accepted as evidence in a scholarly analysis.

A museum can also undertake the important task of publishing on the basis of its collections and exhibitions in the field of primitive art. Publication can be on several levels. As was stated earlier, since this material is unfamiliar, more background must be given the average visitor, so the small casual pamphlet explaining the art in its simplest terms is desirable. Books, like the "Indian Art of the United States" and "Arts of the South Pacific" both accompanied exhibitions. "Native Arts of the North Pacific Coast," on the other hand, is published by the Stanford University Press but deals with the Rasmussen Collection in Portland and consists primarily of photographs of the pieces in the collection. On the more scholarly side, Dr. Wingert's "American Indian Sculpture" is the type of detailed analysis of an art style that must precede all attempts at wide diffusion studies.

These brief comments show a number of important developments:

1. Artists are sharing with anthropologists the wealth of beauty in the field of primitive art.
2. Museums and art galleries are joining forces in making these collections available in exhibitions and study collections.
3. Publications at several levels of interest interpret and illustrate the field of primitive art as it extends its influence to new audiences.

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THE APOCALYPSE OF JOHN*

By Marian W. Smith, Columbia University

NO THEME in Western culture, with the possible exception of the Gospels, has so persistently and so continuously excited Western art and thought as the Apocalypse of John. It played a role not only in the creative expression of the artist and the intellectual fervor of the monk and churchman, but also in the daily life of ordinary people, for 1500 or more years. The revelation of the great catastrophe through which God in His anger, and in His final struggle with Satan, would destroy the world was a present reality to millions of men. Throughout the centuries, there have been recurrent scares of portending doom, and an eventual Last Judgment was taken for granted as a personal expectation by the vast majority of Europeans until a very recent period. The final weighing of good and bad acts is still a part of Christian religious doctrine and, in a more symbolic sense, is present in much of the Western attitude toward ethical behavior whatever the religious persuasion of the individual may be.

Anthropologists must often deal with materials which lack any real historical depth. But here is a core of cultural life seemingly made to order for anthropological study. Here can be seen certain variations on a common theme covering over a millennium and a half of human history. Moreover, these materials have already been extensively examined by scholars of the humanities and by philosophers, so that a corpus of data lies ready to hand. We have only to bring together information which has previously been largely uncorrelated. In doing so, the present paper will be divided into three sections: the first reviews the various commentaries on the Apocalypse of John, the second describes briefly certain changes in its artistic illustration, and the third correlates these two in time, to see if they have any bearing upon each other.¹

* From the symposium on *Art and Anthropology* on January 27, 1950, at the annual meeting of the College Art Association of America, Chicago.

¹ The research for this paper was done in the period from 1932 to 1934. During this time the author greatly benefited from her contacts with the late Professor Wendel T. Bush and she deeply regrets that this version of the work cannot be discussed with him. His was a great cultural understanding and where the paper falters he could have enriched it. Needless to say, the anthropological setting of the research can be blamed only on the author.

Commentary

The Apocalypse of John claims to be a direct prophecy of the future of man and of the world, and the boldness of its imaginary sets it off from all other examples of biblical writing. It is immediate and real.

Rev. I, 9. I, John, . . . was in the isle that is called Patmos . . .

10. I was in the Spirit on the Lord's day, and heard behind me a great voice, as of a trumpet.

11. Saying, I am Alpha and Omega, the first and the last, and what thou seest, write in a book . . .

17. And when I saw Him, I fell at His feet as dead. And He laid His right hand upon me, saying unto me, Fear not; I am the first and the last:

18. I am He that liveth, and was dead; and behold, I am alive for evermore, Amen; and have the keys of hell and of death.

19. Write the things which thou hast seen, and the things which are, and the things which shall be hereafter.

The book is almost unanimously attributed to the closing years of the reign of the Roman Emperor Domitian, 94-96 AD. Very little is known of the way in which it was first received but it seems to have had almost immediate acceptance. The text, with its poetic visions and vast historic sweep, was a challenge to understanding and faith alike and it is small wonder that it gave rise to various schools of interpretation.

The earliest of these served to underscore the separation which was later to divide the Eastern and Western churches. By the third century the Western world was fanatically, and literally, accepting John's visions. But to the portions of the Mediterranean which retained the Greek language certain difficulties in its usage by John, which disappeared in Latin translation, interfered with any recognition of his work as divine truth. Dionysius of Alexandria, in the middle of the third century, pointed out in scholarly fashion that the book could not be, as it professed, the work of John the Apostle. On the basis of this objection, the book was not accepted by the Syro-Palestinian Church and the churches of Asia Minor. Earlier Alexandrian theologians saw in the Apocalypse a deep spiritual symbolism but little literal meaning. With the exception of Aecumenius, Andreas and Arethas, the Greek commentaries have unfortunately disappeared. But they apparently agreed with Clement, one of the first commentators, in the emphasis they placed upon the purely spiritual significance of the vision. In succeeding centuries the Eastern Church seems to have ignored or to have been ignorant of the Apocalypse of John. Both Western commentary and artistic illustration of the Apocalypse, therefore, remained free of Eastern influence to a degree unusual in early religious subjects.

Western commentary continued to retain the Apocalypse as literal truth. By the time of Irenaeus, knowledge of its historical background had already cited it as justification of Chiliasm or the doctrine of the Millennium: a belief in the literal reign of Christ upon earth for 1000 years. Irenaeus continued this literally Chiliastic interpretation but added an allegorical element, notably in regard to the number of the Beast (Rev. XIII, 18). Although the commentary of Irenaeus' pupil, Hippolytus, has been lost, it can be gathered from his other writings that he followed in his teacher's footsteps and that his work was especially rich in the legend of the Beast or the anti-Christ who would reign during Satan's triumph. The great contribution of Victorinus of Pettan has come to be known as the recapitulation theory. This theory declares that the Apocalypse treats not of a simple chronological series of events but rather of the same events under guise of three different repetitions. Although both Irenaeus and Victorinus thus employed allegory in their interpretations, the dominant note of these first Western commentaries was eschatological and literally Chiliastic.

Tyconius, the Donatist, marks the next important step in Apocalyptic commentary. He united the recapitulation theory of Victorinus with the symbolic interpretation which emanated from Alexandria. With him ends the first of the Chiliastic and literal-minded periods. The Apocalypse was now no longer a simple series of events but a direct revelation which could be construed as prophecy any events. Tyconius could say, then, that here in the revealed word of God stood the strife between the Donatistic Church and the False State Church in which he was himself concerned. The Apocalypse was the word of God on the subject of His universal plan and all it needed was proper interpretation. To understand the present, any present, in terms of its past and its future was to turn to the Revelation of John. But literal meaning it had none. Among the successors of Tyconius, Jerome stands still at the border between the realistic and symbolic approaches. But St. Augustine followed Tyconius wholeheartedly: "Let us," he says, "forget this fable of 1000 years."

Despite the stand of these men, and the general influence of St. Augustine, the larger number of commentators² retained a few literal elements from Irenaeus and Victorinus and the mass of the people kept their literal belief in the horrors of the anti-Christ. In the eleventh century, there were two periods of intense excitement, especially widespread in France: first, 1000 years after the birth of Christ, and, then, 1000 years after His crucifixion. Both 1000 and

² Such as Ambrose, Beatus, Primasius, Cassidorus, Apringus, Bede, Ansbertus, Haymo, Walafrid, Strabo and Berengaudus.

1033 saw scenes of frenzied panic during which people gave away their property, left their homes and occupations, and abandoned their families in expectation of the end of the world.

The visions of John were accepted once again, and by the twelfth century a new period of literal apocalyptic commentary had begun. Norbert and Hildegard returned to a Chiliasm as pure as that of the third and fourth centuries and Joachim of Floris reconstructed a panorama of history along lines he discovered in the Apocalypse. Joachim's commentary appeared around the year 1196 when, according to him, the world was in its sixth period. This worldly period would end dramatically in 1260 and there would be a return to apostolic simplicity led by two orders of monks. After Joachim's death his following increased steadily, and the rise of the Franciscan and Dominican orders at this time lent confirmation to his prophecy. But that which had happened so often before, happened again: 1260 came and went and the world went through no apparent cataclysm. Chiliasm had again failed to justify itself. But it did not lose its appeal.

Joachim influenced thought in two directions: first to popularize Apocalyptic commentary and, second, to lend it an anti-papal tone. Although Pope Innocent III seems to have accepted his commentary, Joachim himself apparently believed that anti-Christ would appear as a pope. This was most logical since the papacy was the position from which the greatest power could be exerted. Yet it was easy to combine this with his preaching against the secularization of the church, a large part of which was naturally directed against the see of Rome, and to come to the conclusion that the pope *was* anti-Christ. Following this reasoning, the Apocalypse of John was used in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries by the Wycliffites, the Hussites, etc., as their chief weapon against the Church of Rome.

The leading figures in the Reformation divided into two schools: one of which abandoned the recapitulation theory and treated the Apocalypse as a prophetic compendium of Church history;³ and the other retained the recapitulation theory and was violently anti-papal and non-Chiliastic.⁴ Despite the

³ This school began in the early part of the fourteenth century with Petrus Aureolus and Nicolaus of Lyra. It was adopted by Luther with anti-papal polemic borrowed from Purvey whose commentary he published in 1528. In 1534, Luther issued a translation of the Book of Revelation with a preface of his own. The school continued independent of Luther until the beginning of the eighteenth century through Lambertus, Hoffman, Marloratus, Bullinger and Bibliander, Brightman, Bossuet, Aubert de Verse and de Sacy.

⁴ Later in appearance and of shorter duration, this school had its greatest development in the sixteenth century with Conradi, Sakerides, Collado, Paraeus, Foxe and Napier.

fact that Jesuit scholars of the last half of the sixteenth century and the beginning of the seventeenth century rallied to the support of John by reviving a literal interpretation with an interest in eschatology,⁸ Chiliasm was branded on the continent by the Augsburg Confession as a Judaistic heresy. It later regained a certain popularity in Germany through the commentary of Bengel, and in England the Millennium was variously predicted for the years 1715, 1734 and, finally, 1866. But these efforts at Chiliasm were scattered and, in the main, religious comment on the Apocalypse from the time of the Reformation emphasized its symbolic nature.

Modern scholarly interpretations of the book may be said to have begun with Grotius, the Dutch scholar of the seventeenth century. Although such symbols as the Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse remained in the popular imagination, the book steadily lost ground in its appeal to the commentator and the historian. Today, world history is being interpreted according to other blueprints.

Illustration

Early Christian art lived in an atmosphere of martyrdom, and the expectation of the second coming of Christ, so vividly portrayed by John, lent a similar vivid coloring to the sufferings of the faithful. This was a time of persecution, but tomorrow would justify today—and tomorrow was immediate and daily expected. Illustrations of this faith needed only spiritual reaffirmation to be meaningful. The agape, often placed on the lunettes of tombs in the early catacombs, suggested the mystery through which Christians were united into one group and reiterated the symbol of the continued existence of the individual after death. Death and suffering were necessary forerunners of rebirth. Jonah issuing from the mouth of the sea monster was a specific symbol of such reappearance of the Good Shepherd bearing His lamb protectively on His shoulder was a promise of solicitude and, hence, of resurrection. These were among the important themes of early Christian art and to them by the fourth and fifth centuries were added four which traced directly to images in the Apocalypse of John.

"I am the alpha and the omega," says God in the vision of John. And the representation of the first and last letters of the Greek alphabet, either alone, or with a cross or the monogram of Christ, was sufficient to evoke all the power of divinity and the promise of future grace. The lamb of the Apocalypse is not succored by the Good Shepherd but, as a symbol of the true Christ, stands alone on a small mound (Mt. Sion). To John, the lamb

⁸ Hentenius, Ribeira, Salmeron, Pereyra, Alcasar, Juan Mariana, etc.

did not represent the faithful, but the divine sacrifice. It was divinity itself. In the fifth century, this same lamb appears in the midst of the twenty-four elders of the Apocalypse (Rev. V, 6-10) and these elders in adoration came to be one of the most persistent themes of Christian iconography. By the middle of the fifth century the adoration of the Apocalypse had won a central place in church decoration and in the late Middle Ages the popular figure of Christ in the aureole, the "Christ in Majesty," was almost always surrounded by these same presbyters. Another representation inspired by the Apocalypse, which lasted through the Middle Ages and the use of which was even more popular, was that of the four animals (Rev. IV, 6-8). Not only were the animals added to practically every representation of the throne of God but most portraits of the evangelists were accompanied by the animals with which they had become identified. It can be seen that the visions of John first inspired Christian artists through the directness with which they portrayed literal truth and the same themes were later employed as symbols for eternal praise and adoration.

Of the first representations of the Apocalypse of a purely and designedly illustrative character only a record survives. According to Bede, Benedict Biscop, Abbot of Wearmouth, Northumberland, brought back from Rome c. 680 a series of pictures of the "images of the visions of the Apocalypse of John" to adorn the wall of his church of St. Peter. Of these nothing now remains and of their Roman prototype we have as little knowledge. Our information is limited to the fact that at least as early as the seventh century a series of Apocalyptic illustrations existed at Rome and was introduced into England.

The great development of Apocalyptic art is now to shift from Italy to countries more recently converted to the faith: to Spain, Germany, England and France. It is also in relation to these series of illustrations that the illuminated manuscript is to play such an important part. The Apocalypse of John was a history; it was read by the clergy and repeated by the people; it was a text which could be illustrated—and increasingly it was a story which might be written in pictures alone. Our earliest preserved manuscripts of the Apocalypse date from the ninth and tenth centuries when the tradition of an illustrative series was already firmly established and from then until the fifteenth century illumination plays a major role. Although Apocalyptic themes are found in the carvings of the great cathedrals, in tapestries, wall decorations and in stained glass, they can all be traced to their originals in illuminated manuscripts.

One of the greatest traditions in illumination centers around the com-

mentary of Beatus of Liebana which was written c. 776 and was widely used in the Mozarabic Rite of Spain until the eleventh century when the Roman church assumed control of Spanish ritual. In the Mozarabic Mixed Missal of Toledo, compiled about 1500, the Apocalypse still maintained a major role and was substituted for the Old Testament reading on the days from Easter to Pentecost. Beatus' commentary remained important as long as the Mozarabic Rite of Spain survived in any form but it was illustrated only during the earlier period of its greatest vigor. Twenty-four sets of illustrations dating from the ninth to the thirteenth centuries are available to us today and the plan of illustration follows along the same general lines for all the copies.

The illuminations of the Beatus, although they can be arranged in groups according as they seem to have sprung from different originals in different sections of Spain, can nevertheless be treated as a unit. They all have certain characteristics in common. The illumination of Spain followed directly upon Merovingian art; it continued the older style without the intervention of the Carolingian Renaissance of the tenth and eleventh centuries which influenced the painting of the rest of the continent and of England. The Beatus illuminations have the same ornamental quality, the same emphasis upon decoration; they have no architectural quality nor in general do they attempt to isolate their elements in space. Picture follows upon picture and action upon action against a background of banded colors. Their simple ornamental and illustrative style is unified by a truly marvelous handling of line and color. And they show the beginnings of that interest in action which was later to characterize the Romanesque. Although there is a certain literal-mindedness of conception which transforms the seven candlesticks (Rev. I, 12) into hanging lamps such as were in use in the churches that the artists knew, and which portrays the vintage (Rev. XIV, 14-20) with all the details of a flourishing contemporary industry, there is no attempt, no interest, in presenting the figures and images exactly as they might be seen. The figures are not copies, in perspective and in proportion, of nature. The drawing and technique are not intended to ape an earthy naturalism. Yet the scenes are vivid. They strike one as having been essentially real to the imagination which conceived them. There is something as difficult to forget about these splashes of color as about the images of John himself.

Illumination was also flourishing at this time in Germany under the more conservative hand of the Roman church. One of the most completely preserved manuscripts belongs around the year 1000. It was written and illustrated in Reichenau and was deposited in the library of the city of Bamberg in the nineteenth century. The illuminations of this Bamberg Apocalypse

are in a quite different tradition from the Spanish cycle which we have just been considering. It is as little wordly as the other but with considerable constraint and dignity and less accent upon vivid color. The illuminations are definitely framed and have a self-contained and mystical character which is accented by the intense inward concentration of the human figures. In both the Beatus and the Bamberg, despite their differences of style, a kind of religious fervor dominates the conception. The majesty of this conception has been retained in the Last Judgment which had such an important place in Christian art from this time on.

The great wealth of preserved Apocalyptic illustration belongs to the Gothic period. A continuity with the past and a certain steadfastness to an earlier tradition are shown but in both the families of manuscripts belonging to this period the text has become the minor part of the whole and serves as explanatory, almost supplementary, matter. The figures, especially in northern France and in England, attained a rounded and plastic quality. They had begun to assume the character of real people in a real world with a realistic liveliness of movement. The twelfth century saw an effort to place the figures within architectural settings and in three-dimensional space. Whereas the earlier action had taken place against large expanses of gold or solid-colored backgrounds, this space was now decreased giving the figures a more intimate relation to their surroundings. The symbolism of gesture and posture was highly developed but the force of the whole was less than in the earlier Spanish and German work. By the second half of the thirteenth and in the early fourteenth century the elegance of miniature work was greatly enhanced; details became more independent of the content, more natural and plastic; but, under the influence of England, the figures themselves received a more tenuous and less realistic quality, were ornamented and curvilinear in their architectural settings. The painting as a whole, for all its whimsicality and inventiveness, had a grace and dignity borrowed perhaps from its courtly patrons. By the middle of the fourteenth century all formalized pattern disappeared; in the third quarter of the century, the figures, although not voluminous, were well modelled and with all the plastic accents of real people; by the end of the fourteenth century the figures had become completely realistic, almost statuesque, the painting as a whole was still delicate and fine, yet the scenes had lost their inner religious significance. In the later works the religious element seems only superimposed on fine worldly personages.

The tapestries of Angers serve as an example of this fourteenth century elegance. In a catalogue of the books of Charles V of France written in 1373 there is written in the margin after "an apocalypse in French all figured and

illustrated and in prose" the very interesting fact that the king had loaned the book to "M. d'Anjou pour faire son tapis." The Duke of Anjou, brother of Charles V, had the tapestries made to decorate the walls of the chapel of his chateau at Angers. It is known that he borrowed the court painter, Hennequin or Jean de Bruges, to make the cartoons. The tapestries themselves consisted of seven strips, eighteen feet high with a combined width of 472 feet. There were originally ninety scenes some seventy of which are preserved and were displayed in this country a few years back. In each scene, John looks on in amazement at the events unrolled before him and these events, although their solidly colored skies lend them a panoramic and cosmic quality, have an intimacy of detail and a factual following of the text which render them completely plausible. There the events were and John did, indeed, see them unfold.

It was little more than a century after M. d'Anjou had borrowed the illuminated manuscript from his royal brother that two simultaneous editions of the Apocalypse of John were to come from the printing press of Albrecht Dürer in Germany. With the wood-cuts with which Dürer illustrated both of these editions, Latin and German, began a new era in apocalyptic art.

The revolution in art medium is obvious. And it is hardly necessary to point out that 1498, the year of Dürer's Apocalypse, is in the heart of the Reformation. His illustrations have broken with the tradition just behind them: the seventy or ninety scenes have given way to fifteen; they have lost the elegance, the secularized, worldly character of court and patron; the religious value seems no longer merely superimposed. Even in the vision of Christ in heaven, a familiar German landscape is visible below. The iconography remains largely the same as that of the manuscripts and the elements have been chosen and synthesized from them. Yet by that very choice and synthesis the concept differs. Dürer's apocalyptic illustrations return to all the religious, mystical values of the Beatus and the Bamberg Apocalypses. They carry one away from this world to another in which God sits triumphantly upon His throne and from which issues the horrible fate of those lacking in faith. They transport one to a realm existing only in spirit. Yet this view was far more than a legacy from the Middle Ages. It was a view in which spirit spoke directly to spirit and in which this world was but more fully realized.

Dürer's Apocalypse did not so much start a tradition as loosen men from tradition. By the sixteenth century the great popularity of Bible illustration led to a rampant eclecticism. The originality and individuality of the artist increased until there was no longer any attempt at depicting a vision shared

with all men. The Apocalypse of John served as inspiration to single artists for visions of their own. But the paintings of such men as Raphael, Titian, Tintoretto, El Greco, and Rubens were only individually stirring. The Apocalypse of John was no longer viewed as simple fact to be shown to all mankind.

Conclusions

Up to this point we have been giving, in synoptic form, materials which are fairly generally known. And we have relied entirely on the excellent methods of the humanities. But the juxtaposition of commentary and illustration has already lent our approach an anthropological tone. Anthropologists seldom work in any single type of material and, if they do, it is always with an awareness that their data may suddenly take a turn in any direction. Anthropology is normally cross-disciplinary in its selection of materials. Data are not felt to be related because of the nature which leads them to be classified within the confines of a single discipline but because of their coexistence in time and space. They are frequently grouped together because of their mutual relationship to a particular cultural phenomenon, as in this case the Apocalypse of John. The relationship must depend on factors outside of the previous hypotheses of the investigator. The coexistence of the data must be successfully demonstrated on the basis of internal evidence. It is not surprising, therefore, that conclusions are often phrased in terms of process, and that a knowledge of the relationships between phenomena constitute one of the major contributions of anthropology.

In our present study, it is clear that both the commentary and art of the Apocalypse fall into periods and these show general changes in content as well as in thought or art style. The anthropologist likes to handle cultural history from a knowledge of the total patterning of the culture. But, since the complexities of our civilization have so far largely resisted the formulation of such a pattern, let us approach this ultimate aim by keeping strictly to our materials. A review of cultural content is beyond our scope. Yet surely, in more than 1500 years of Western cultural history, the philosophy and art of the Apocalypse are irrevocably related. Throughout this long period both Apocalyptic commentary and illustration show two major attitudes of interpretation. The visions of John are either regarded as fact, or they serve as the focus for other visionary manipulations. They are taken either literally or symbolically. Whatever the particular content of the interpretations may be, and however much they may differ from each other, they bear this in common—that they can be characterized in broad terms by either their essentially literal-minded or symbol-laden thinking. A brief review of the periods highlights this contrast:

Commentary. (1) The period of the literal acceptance of the Apocalypse of John in the Western church, marked by eschatological and Chiliastic interests, in the second, third and fourth centuries, and paralleled by a purely spiritual interest in the book on the part of the Eastern church; (2) the period of a spiritualizing approach, the images of John being studied to obtain their symbolic significance, beginning in the third century, finding full expression in the latter part of the fourth century and lasting until the twelfth century; (3) a revival of eschatological and Chiliastic enthusiasm in the thirteenth century; (4) the period of the Reformation in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, when the problem of papal domination was of central significance; (5) the period influenced by the successful establishment of the heretical or Protestant churches, distinguished by an extremely arbitrary, individualistic type of interpretation and lasting through the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; and (6) the period of modern scholarship marked by its general antiquarian character, beginning in the seventeenth century and finding full expression in the nineteenth.

Illustration. (1) The period inspired by and portraying the images of divinity and adoration, marked by an emphasis upon man in the care of Christ, beginning with Christian art, finding full expression in the fifth century; (2) the period of various series of illustration, marked by a vivid though unnatural realism with John's symbolism fully implicit, beginning in the sixth or seventh century and starting to die out in the last part of the eleventh century; (3) the period of increasing naturalism, marked by royal patronage, extreme richness and decreasing impressiveness, beginning as early as the ninth century and finding full expression in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries when the images lose much of their symbolic value and give way to the literal dominance of the Last Judgment; (4) a revival of spiritual intensity, distinguished by complete naturalism and a break with tradition, lasting through the period of the Reformation; (5) the period of increasing individualism finding expression in a return to single scenes inspired by the personal appeal of John's visions; and (6) a period practically devoid of the inspiration of the Apocalypse of John. These last two show a gradual decline in the religious intensity of the fourth period but give no signs of a return to the earlier literal acceptance of John's images as historic truth.

The fruitful years of early Christianity combined mysticism and a kind of literal-mindedness. These traditions soon separated and the factual acceptance of John's verbal imagery which characterized the early period of Western Christian art contrasts sharply with the mystical approach to the same images employed by the Eastern Church. The first "literal" period in art, although culminating in the fifth century, has never really died out. It continues on into the twentieth century in such portrayals as the Sacred Heart, only semi-officially recognized by the Church of Rome, and in illustrations of the bleeding Lamb put out by various Protestant tract societies.

It is also worthy of note that often when illustrations become most clearly symbolic, in the ease with which the artist makes the transition from the object portrayed to the idea it conveys, they become most factual in their acceptance of verbal imaginary. John says: "I saw a woman sit upon a scarlet coloured beast . . . having seven heads and ten horns . . . and the woman which thou sawest is that city. . . ." In the Beatus illustrations, the beast has seven heads and ten horns, and the woman and the beast are framed by

architectural detail suggesting the city. But the city of blasphemy and the harlot become symbols of carnal lust. The mind can accept the seven-headed beast as a further symbol of the monstrous. The harlot of the Angers tapestries, on the contrary, looks in a mirror and sits precariously on her beast. She is a simple prostitute of the time and the message to shun her is as literal, and as difficult to obey, as a sermon. Architectural detail merely forms the portico in which John stands to see the vision. The artist avoids what he cannot readily experience and the animal, consequently, has but one head.

The artists of the French court reduced John's spiritual impact to a comfortable minimum while factually accepting the framework of his historical message. The twentieth century artist has abandoned the Apocalypse for it has ceased to hold meaning of any kind for him. Yet it is most significant that during the long period of the book's acceptance, attitudes toward it show a cyclical variation, swinging from literal to symbolic, from symbolic to literal.

The duration of these cyclical periods is clearly shown in the following table and the juxtaposition of commentary and illustration further indicates the relative importance of the literal tradition in art.

JUXTAPOSITION OF PERIODS OF COMMENTARY AND ILLUSTRATION

<i>Interpretation</i>	<i>Commentary</i>	<i>Illustration</i>
Symbolic	II (continues in Eastern Church)	
Literal	II → III → IV ¹	II → V →
Symbolic	III → IV → XII	VI → IX → XII
Literal	XII → XIII → XIV	XII → XIV → XV
Symbolic	XIV → XVI → XVIII	XV → XVI → XVIII
Scholarly	XVII →	

¹ I.e. beginning in the second century, finding full expression in the third and dying out in the fourth.

Literal interpretations of the Apocalypse by religious and historical commentators take up only about four centuries of the sixteen or so represented, and attention to the centuries of culmination of the periods reveals an even greater proportion devoted to the non-literal approach. In part, this may be due to the cross-fertilization which men of letters occasionally received from the Eastern symbolic tradition, and from the verbal mysticism of John himself. In part, it may also reflect the more generally intellectual, even aristocratic, nature of the commentators as compared to the artists of the same Christian era. But it would be easy to over-emphasize this latter contrast and,

whatever the reasons for this dominance of the symbolic in the literary tradition may be, the outstanding fact demonstrated by our juxtaposition of art and commentary is the periodicity of their relation to each other.

By the fourth century commentators had turned from a literal to a symbolic interpretation of John. Art made the same switch two hundred years later and took an additional three hundred years to fully exploit the new attitude. A recrudescence of the literal approach in both materials occurred in the twelfth century and, in returning to symbolism illustration again lagged by a full century. Church doctrine is traditionally decided by the church fathers, but the effect of a change in their approach apparently took generations to reach even those men who were illustrating the faith.

The reciprocal process is just as strongly documented, for the dominant literal-minded quality of illustration reappears in religious philosophy despite the overwhelming emphasis of commentary upon the opposite point of view. The importance of the tradition represented in our materials by the artist can hardly be exaggerated. If we are to take the modern attitude to the Apocalypse as proof of a renewal of an anti-mystical attitude, the tradition represented by the artist has, indeed, won out. But the major conclusion of our materials points to a long continued contrast in attitude in Western society. The two approaches we have discussed seem to have interacted and cross-fertilized each other, reëmerged and come into renewed conflict. In the 1500 or more years of our study neither attitude had apparently lost its vitality but there is a suggestion that a literal-mindedness based upon daily experience had asserted a gradual influence against considerable resistance.

The cyclical nature of the phenomena reviewed here differs from that often postulated for cultural history. The pendulum is often said to swing as far in one direction as it had previously in the other. This conclusion is not borne out here: if a pendulum can be seen in our material at all, it has a very uneven swing. Also, it is often said that civilization, or cultural phenomena, wax and wane, are born, grow and die. A kind of existence patterned after human life is projected upon them. This, too, does not give the true measure of our materials. In the fluctuations we have noted there is both a definite progression, a development of sorts, and a kind of alternation as well. Thus, one cultural or anthropological conclusion to be drawn from our study would be that continuity and alternation are not mutually exclusive. Both are processes to be looked for in the dynamic life of a society and more carefully controlled work on our materials might go far toward illuminating the factors involved in their interaction.

CULTURAL MOTIVATIONS OF AN ARTIST*

By Paul S. Wingert, Columbia University

IT IS an accepted fact that a work of art must be examined within its cultural context to be fully understood. The motivations that cause an artist to handle the elements of a style in a particular way then become apparent. For the past century and a half, a constantly increasing specialization has been gradually divorcing the artist more and more from the main streams of our Western culture. The various facets of our culture have developed in a zealously defended compartmentalized vertical fashion. Inter-relationships between these facets tend to become weaker with each passing decade. Perhaps the over-emphasis on historical depth within each compartment is partially responsible. Perhaps, also, the neuroticism of a period that has known little security or promise of security is to an extent to blame. Our standards of values are unstable and, unfortunately, constantly shifting. We are subject to pressures that, again unfortunately, are proliferated by radio, television and an intensive press throughout our Western world. As a result, we have not known for a long time just what the sum total was. It is obvious that our culture is substantially non-integrated.

In contrast, many of the so-called primitive or native or non-literate peoples have strongly integrated cultures. Our knowledge of these peoples is largely due to the extensive and often very comprehensive anthropological field work of the past half century. As a consequence, a vast body of materials has been collected, organized, and explained or interpreted. We are now able, therefore, to examine objectively, since we are emotionally detached, the various motivations that completely integrated cultures offer the artist. In such cultures the basic drives, religious, economic, social, aesthetic, are inter-related. The result is a broad and solid philosophical basis for a way of life.

The motivations that bear upon an artist, in any culture or at any time, are multiple and complex. But, regardless of time or place, two particular kinds of motivations determine the character of what the artist creates. These may be designated for the sake of convenience as primary or objective and secondary or subjective. The primary or objective ones stem from the tradi-

* From the symposium on Art and Anthropology at the Chicago meeting of the College Art Association, Jan. 27, 1950.

tional beliefs and ideas of a people, that is, the general cultural background which includes the institutions, customs, and practices that grow out of and implement these beliefs and ideas. This category includes religious beliefs and institutions, economic and social customs and practices, and the traditional attitude of a people toward its artists and its art. The secondary or subjective ones have to do with the unique physical equipment of the artist, with his innate aesthetic sensibilities and his psychological responses to the various elements of his culture. This category, in many respects, is less tangible or demonstrable, but it is of very great importance. For example, the physical equipment of one artist or of one person is never the same as that of another; the way in which he sees things, his particular sense of touch, and the responses of his muscles are unique. These have a direct bearing on the production of a work of art. The aesthetic sensibilities of an artist, the way he responds to and interprets the traditional forms of his culture, are of equal importance. Also, the particular and personal experiences of an artist within his own society obviously very greatly influence his interpretation of a traditional style.

The end results of the ways an artist is culturally motivated are certainly to be found in the work he creates. The art of two widely separated peoples will serve to illustrate the motivations that a primitive artist experiences and the extent to which his art is integrated with the major facets of his culture. These peoples are the Baoulé who live in the Ivory Coast of West Africa and the various tribes of the New Hebrides islands in the southwestern Pacific. They are both dark-skinned peoples and their artists prefer the same medium, that of wood sculpture. But, beyond that and the fact that they are both non-literate peoples, a belittling and evil sounding word, they have culturally little else in common.

Our knowledge of the Baoulé is due largely to the field work of French anthropologists of the earlier years of the present century. Their field technique was not a model that would be followed today. As a result, however, of the sociological bent of French anthropologists, we do possess an over-all knowledge of Baoulé society and institutions. The major demands of the Baoulé artist are for figures and masks. Some of the figures and presumably all of the masks are intended for religious uses. But regardless of purpose their art manifests a strong traditional style, evident in the proportioning of parts, the stylization of natural shapes, the compact vibrant designs, the absence of color, and the careful carving of selected descriptive details. This is the common heritage of all Baoulé artists.

Three kinds of figures are carved: those that serve as symbols of

certain deities, those that are used in ancestor rites, and those that are portraits, or, more accurately, are aesthetic objects. In every case, the traditional generic style serves as a primary motivation for the artist. A few iconographical details and an emphasis on austerity of expression characterize the figures that symbolize deities. Ancestor figures are without the iconographical details and emphasize instead the head, hairdress, and scarification marks that may be identifying details of a particular person. They are carved after death and placed for a short time by the side of the grave so that at least a portion of the spirit of the deceased will take up its permanent residence within the figure. The carving is revered for that spirit content. Because of it, petitions can be directed to the ancestor in the belief that the ancestor, as a citizen of the spirit world, will intercede in behalf of its descendants. Portrait figures are in every sense of the word aesthetic sculptures. They are either commissioned from the artist, or they are carved by him because of the beauty of a person whom he asks to serve as a "model." But, although the sculptor studies the model, he adapts its particular beauty to the generic type of figure that is traditional to his village.

Even a cursory examination of Baoulé figure sculpture reveals the fact that each carving, regardless of its kind, is unique. It is evident, therefore, that the sculptor is allowed a wide latitude within the limits of his tribal style. The subjective or secondary motivations are consequently the more important determinants of this style. An analysis of these figures and a consideration of other cultural elements show this to be true.

There exists among these people, as among all peoples, a psychological variable in the technical expression of their artists. Baoulé figures, for example, reveal an emphasis on line, or on mass, or on the depth and refinement of surface detail. These differences result from the artist's psychological responses to the basic art forms of his culture and especially from his aesthetic sensibility to the life about him. To a large extent, these depend upon such factors as acuteness of eye for the observation of form and movement and a sensitivity to the expressive elements of that form and movement. Each artist is therefore to a considerable degree motivated by his own powers of observation and by his aesthetic sensibilities to select from and to organize the results of those observations into an expressive interpretation of a traditional form. Each figure thus represents a new experience for the artist and a summation of all of his past experiences with natural form.

The Baoulé artist is esteemed and remunerated on the basis of the aesthetic quality of his work. He achieves a reputation that extends well

beyond the limits of his own village and he is at times commissioned to carve a figure that will serve no other purpose than the aesthetic pleasure it gives his patron. Some men, in fact, have collections of sculpture. Occasionally they will place these objects on a cloth spread out in front of their house so that others may see and enjoy them too. The presence of a critical evaluation of their art reveals, therefore, the existence among these people of a connoisseurship. This quite obviously produces as a primary motivation upon the artist a competitive drive. The prospects of greater public esteem, of fame, and of greater economic security have a direct bearing on the style of this area.

But this style also owes much to the psychological responses of the artist to the attitude of his culture towards him. It is a constant challenge. His perceptive powers and his aesthetic sensibilities are continuously alerted. If possible, he creates with each successive work a new and more poignant interpretation of nature within the bounds of tribal style. This leads to a subtlety and sophistication that is at once apparent in any representative collection of sculpture from this area. As a result of the general cultural emphasis placed upon technical competency, Baoulé figures have smooth surfaces, clean, clear-cut lines, and precisely handled detail. Evidences of the very important secondary psychological motivations, however, appear in the subtlety of proportions, and, especially, in the expression of vitality within the limits of the traditional style. The figures, for example, are traditionally static and frontal in pose. Movement and vitality are given within these fixed design limits by an astute expression of a slight asymmetrical disposition of parts and details. Thus no figure is actually symmetrical in the distribution of its forms and volumes—and no forms agree bilaterally with opposing forms. The slight tensions that result give to the figures a vitality expressive of life forms. This is the most important single feature of Baoulé style. Although it is a composite of strong primary and secondary motivations, the aesthetic satisfactions of the artist in his work, however, are of exceptional importance for an understanding of this art.

The variations in figure sculpture that reveal a personal interpretation by the artist are also evident in the many traditionally established types of Baoulé masks. The greater number of masks are used in funereal rites. They symbolize the presence of certain spirits or deities and thus have a strong religious sanction. Ox-head masks, for example, symbolize the deity who guides the soul of the deceased to the land of the dead. But the identity of those with human features is unfortunately not certain. In either group, however, the interpretation ranges from a sensitive stylization of natural forms

to a more schematic or abstract handling of those forms. Regardless of this range in style, both primary and secondary motivations are again very apparent. The sophistication of design, the refinement of surface, the elegance of detail reflect in the masks, as they do in the figures, the various objective elements in the general cultural background that serve as motivation, while the variety of interpretations of basic concepts shows the personal or subjective basis for many of the distinctive elements in the style of each work. It is thus again evident that these secondary motivations are of very great significance for an understanding of the particular character of Baoulé art.

New Hebrides art, on the other hand, stems essentially from the objective or primary motivations of a culture that is remarkably or even tightly integrated. The artist as a specialist does not exist. It is said that every man is an artist, since upon certain occasions he will be called on to carve and paint figures and masks. But obviously every man is not endowed with the same skill and aesthetic sensibilities. As a consequence, this art shows a very wide range of quality. Work of exceptional excellence is recognized and praised and a man gains slight prestige because of his ability, but he does not become a specialist or achieve a great reputation.

Spectacular figures, drums, and masks are needed for an almost continuous series of ceremonies that characterize the culture of these islands. With the exception of the drums, the carved and painted figures and masks must be made anew for each ceremony. A very considerable quantity of sculpture is therefore produced. But to understand the art itself and the motivations that lay behind it, it is necessary to examine the basic elements of New Hebrides culture.

A single type of institution, the graded society, dominates the life of these people. There exists in every community one or more of these graded societies to which every man must belong. Throughout his life he must advance within the society or societies from grade to grade, constantly striving to reach by the time of his death the highest possible grade. To advance within the society is an increasingly costly matter. Each candidate aspiring to a higher grade is rigidly required to provide a certain amount of food for the attendant ceremonies, to pay heavily all of those who sponsor and assist him, to present the prescribed number of costly sacrifices, and to have carved and painted one or sometimes many figures or masks, the masks always in wood or clay, the figures for the highest grades in stone. It requires a great deal of time and the expenditure of considerable collective energies by the extended family before these requirements can be met. As a man progresses within the society, he becomes stronger economically because of the in-

creased acreage he has to plant to grow the necessary food. He and his family also become more and more prominent socially. But likewise important is his progress spiritually, since these societies often have great religious significance and sanction. The sculptures used in grade society rites, therefore, have social, economic, and religious motivations.

The avowed intention of the institution of the grade societies is to join the ancestors in the hereafter. It is believed that entrance to the spirit world is challenged by a devouring being, the Guardian Ghost. Many of the sacrifices and the attendant rites are for the purpose of accumulating enough spirit power to cope successfully with this being when the crucial moment arrives. The Guardian Ghost is associated with the moon, with evil and darkness, and with the color black. But a benevolent culture hero brought these people specific instructions for the satisfaction of this evil being. In particular he informed them of the sacrificial animal that would give them the requisite power to meet this danger. The culture hero is identified with the sun and the sky, with the high-flying hawk, and with the color white.

The all important sacrificial animal is the tusked boar. It is at one and the same time a symbol of potential power and the greatest single item of wealth in the New Hebrides. All payments, especially those connected with grade society advancement, are made with this animal. In every circumstance, it is evaluated on the basis of the curvature of its tusks. When the animal is young the upper canines are knocked out to permit the lower ones to grow. At an early age many of these tusked boars are consecrated by means of the sacrifice of yet other boars to the Guardian Ghost. It is believed that as a result the spirit or power of the Guardian Ghost enters the boar and that when the boar is sacrificed at grade society rites that power in turn enters the body of the person making the sacrifice. Thus through the constant succession of sacrifices greater and greater power is accumulated.

For each grade society rite, as previously mentioned, one or more sculptures of a prescribed nature have to be provided. These carvings serve substantially as containers for ancestral spirits whose presence is desired at the rites. It is believed that the spirit of the grandfather of the candidate, either maternal or paternal depending upon the area, inhabits these figures during the ceremonies. By their presence at these rites, it is felt that ancestral spirits are revitalized. The carvings are also inhabited by the spirit of the founder of the particular grade for which they are used. In both figures and masks, however, the dramatically carved forms are painted with symbolic colors or designs, or are augmented with symbolic forms that refer to the Guardian Ghost, the culture hero, or the power of the sacrificial boars. The eyes of

the carved figures, for example, are frequently outlined in white or have wheel-like symbols painted on them, both references to the benevolent culture hero, while the use of black and the occurrence of crescent forms refer to the Guardian Ghost. Many of the masks contain, aside from their symbolic painted designs, the actual insertion in the corners of the mouth of boars' tusks, a symbol of power and a reference to the Guardian Ghost.

The figures, many of them from ten to fifteen feet high, are carved in soft giant tree-fern or in a hard teak-like wood. Both figures and masks are painted with a thick and brilliant earth pigment. Many of the figures used in the rites of the higher grades serve as front posts of a small spirit house. To the gables of these houses there is affixed a large form, roughly shaped from the aerial roots of a tree, that represents the hawk and is thus symbolic of the culture hero. Also, in some of the dances that always accompany grade society rites a very large banner, made from fibers and leaves, is suspended over the dance ground. This too represents the hawk. Many of the dances, all of which follow a prescribed pattern, are circular and further symbolize the culture hero.

In every case the artist is a member of the grade to which the candidate is aspiring. He is powerfully motivated by the traditional beliefs that he expresses and symbolizes in his art. He cannot deviate very far from the required form when he is carving and painting a figure or a mask. But his technical ability can give his work an artistic quality. In this culture, however, the content of a work is of very great importance. The dramatic heads and half figures, for example, express the tensions and anxieties that exist in such a dynamically integrated culture. It is important to know that the sculptures, whether figures or masks, are intended for only momentary use. Their painted designs soon disappear after the performance of the ceremony for which they are made to be used. They express, therefore, in their forms and style the important cultural element of constant change. The secondary or subjective motivations in these carved figures and masks are nevertheless important, even though they are of lesser significance in the composition of this art.

It is obvious that the differences in quality in New Hebrides art singles out the work of the untalented from the talented craftsman. This is readily apparent in the carved and painted forms of the heads and half figures. But, it is even more apparent in the large vertical drums, called slit-gongs, that are from time to time set up by those who are economically very well off as an extra memorial to the ancestors. The drums are practically always carved by the most competent sculptors of a village. The process, which involves

the burning and the carving out of the interior by means of a sharpened human bone, is a long and arduous one. At the top of every big and important drum a large human face is carved. This is the most carefully executed of all New Hebridean sculptures. The artist apparently has a freer hand here than in the carving of the figures and masks. Many of the faces of the drums are carved with a considerable feeling for surfaces, forms, and detail. Evidently the drums that are set up and used as long as they remain serviceable are intended as permanent memorials to the ancestors and are not associated with any advancement within the grade societies. They lack, therefore, those particular composite elements of content that impart to the figures and masks their momentary hysteria of expression. The sculptor is carving an object that he and others will see often. It is a challenge to his expressive and technical abilities. Also, since these drums are painted, if at all, lightly, the sculptured forms stand on their own quality and are not covered, as the figures, with a thick coat of earth pigment.

The cultural motivations experienced by the New Hebridean artist are, therefore, very closely associated with the type of work he carves. If it is a figure or a mask, it conveys by its dynamic intensity of expression the tensions and anxieties that are, first, the primary motivations of the culture, and, secondly, the psychological responses of the artist to these basic cultural stimuli. But since the activities of every one in the society are motivated by the same forces, the primary and secondary motivations of the artist are very closely related.

It is clear, however, from any examination of sculpture from New Hebrides, that the variation in aesthetic quality is the result of a secondary motivation on the part of the artist. Within the very restricted limits of this culture, for example, the artist of ability will creatively interpret the traditional forms and will give them the full power of his artistic perceptions.

There is not a developed connoisseurship in the New Hebrides, although it is clear from field reports that not only the drums but also the figures and masks are exceptionally esteemed if they are well executed and well expressed. In a culture where the artist is subject to the same forces as those for whom he is working, it is evident that the primary motivations to which he is subjected are very important. But, it is also equally apparent that the sculptor is motivated by the very personal desire for artistic expression. Secondary motivations are therefore in every case of considerable, even though of comparatively minor, importance.

This very brief examination of the forces that determine the style of the art in two primitive societies reveals how closely the work of an artist

in an integrated culture is associated with the main streams of that culture. In the final analysis, all motivations that play upon the artist, whether primary or secondary, stem first from the society in which he has grown up and, secondly, from his own unique physical equipment and his emotional experiences within his culture. Both primary and secondary motivations are of great importance for the artist, although the degree of that importance largely depends upon the basic beliefs, ideas, and institutions of the culture. It is evident that a knowledge of the motivations that determine the character of the work of an artist, whether in an integrated or a non-integrated culture, is of the greatest importance for an understanding and appreciation of that art. Towards this very desirable end, anthropology in its study of the cultures of peoples has contributed, is contributing, and will continue to contribute enormously.



Rico Lebrun, pen and ink drawing, courtesy The University of Illinois.

THE RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCE OF VAN GOGH*

By Wallace Fowlie, University of Chicago

I

GRADUALLY, with our own century reaching its midway mark, we are beginning to understand something concerning the work of the great creative geniuses of the 19th century. Over the best work done in our own time their shadow falls, and often appears more luminous and profound than our own, more characteristic of the age with which our own is linked and in respect to which ours may one day be considered the epilogue.

The 19th century as a whole developed and cherished some of the most delirious aspects of hope which history has known. Certainly in the Christian era, not since the first century has there been such hope expressed as in the 19th century belief in liberty, democracy, science, progress. And yet a striking paradox becomes clearer with time. The work of some of the greatest artists of the 19th century—Balzac, Delacroix, Baudelaire, Flaubert, Rimbaud, Van Gogh—reveals little faith left in those very ideals which the century had most fanatically espoused. The time is over when such artists as Rimbaud, Nietzsche, Dostoevsky, Cézanne, Van Gogh can be called "decadent" spirits because of this contradiction between the philosophical theme of their work and the hope of their century. The important aspect of their work which is an arraignment against the scheme of things in the very century of such boundless hope appears today as markedly spiritual and Christian, and even more so, than the obvious Christian utopias and writings of the period.

A strikingly similar fate joins many of these artists. The literary silence of Rimbaud which began so early in his life, the madness which terminated Nietzsche's career, the suicide of Van Gogh coming at the moment of his fullest artistic power bear biographical resemblances, and their work also takes place in a spiritual domain where the most primitive kinds of forces seem to be in eruption. They are similar creative spirits who lived in solitude and learned to descend into themselves, into a very distant past with which they had perhaps closer bonds than with their contemporary time. Rimbaud

* From the symposium on Van Gogh, at the Chicago Meeting of the College Art Association, Jan. 28, 1950.

spoke of his blue-white eyes inherited from his Gallic ancestors (*J'ai de mes ancêtres gaulois l'oeil bleu-blanc*), and Van Gogh in his countless self-portraits reproduced studies in all lights and shadings of the small pointed eyes of his Northern lineage. The world he painted often resembles some primitive incandescent river capable of supporting a drunken boat. It has the dynamic and disarming simplicity of many of the *Illuminations*. The paintings and the prose poems were executed in several places during fitful restless wanderings. A similar desire to create outside of time, to liberate the work from the bondage of time explains many themes in *A Season in Hell* and the cosmic rhythms of many of the canvases done in Arles and Saint-Rémy. Both poet and painter grew rapidly in an awareness of their individual strength. Both works were conceived and feverishly executed in the brief span of three to five years.

II

The art of Van Gogh, the way he painted the real universe he saw, may be explained by the particular passion possessing him and which is best denominated as "religious" even if it can't be attached in any facile way to an orthodox church. A form of religious passion, as in the cases also of Rimbaud and Nietzsche, is the background, often obscured and distorted, for the wanderings of Van Gogh and the peripeteia of his struggles. Of all the modern painters, he and Rouault illustrate most fervently the religious view of art, the almost inescapable religious claims which the creation of art makes on a particular kind of temperament and experience.

For Gauguin, whom Van Gogh esteemed so highly and wanted to hold as a friend, the religious attitude toward art seems almost the reverse. Gauguin's belief would not be unlike that of Mallarmé, in the creation of poetry, whereby the artist must constantly seek to discover the symbol, the mystery and the myth of the universe, to enlarge and embellish material objects by suggesting their ultimate, and hence their most spiritual meaning. Van Gogh would believe that reality in its rigorous and almost savage impact, is more revealing than the myth or the fable of the world. His art is far more fanatical and apocalyptic than Gauguin's, far closer to the vision of the voyant in Rimbaud's terms, who really sees what other men think they have seen. From the art of a Van Gogh and a Rimbaud, the various myths of mankind may be deduced but they cannot be seen as symbolically contrived as by a Gauguin or a Mallarmé. Whereas Van Gogh captures the realness of peasants and the land and trees, Gauguin is more concerned with depicting their surreality, their hieratic symbolism. The real world is a kind of hell for Van Gogh and Rimbaud, and their pictures and poems of it, while remaining

faithful to the infernal aspects of the world, are attempts to step outside of it and transcend it, even if it is only for the time necessary to create the art.

Van Gogh believed, and wrote his belief to Emile Bernard, that for a painter to give on a canvas an impression of spiritual anguish, it is not necessary to depict, say, the garden of Gethsemane. Universal anguish may be expressed just as adequately in the depiction of a great tree struck down by lightning or in the faded colors of a dying autumn flower. The religious attitude of a painter toward his art is revealed not in the subject matter of his paintings but in his capacity to transform all things into a coherent universe which he has seen by means of the slow solitary conquest of himself. All great art is one man's secret vision, and hence triumph, of the world.

III

What is known of Van Gogh, especially from the rich source of his letters, reveals a tragic "case history." He was perhaps the most lonely and the most tortured of all painters of all time. His condition often resembled that of a tracked beast and his anguish must have been, for the most part, inexpressible. His heart had precisely that kind of fervor which is unwanted, which is feared because it seemed to have been formed by a painful, pathetic, unbalanced life.

Nothing in his physical appearance was prepossessing. And there is little trace of narcissism in the vast numbers of self-portraits, which are easily explained by the simple fact that he seldom had enough money to pay for a model. His face always appears bony and yellowed. A sullen expression under the red hair and beard. The blue-green eyes are small and piercing. The tightly locked jaws never permit the shadow of a smile. It is almost a salamander's face, as if belonging to more than one element. It is certainly the face of a man who believed himself a prisoner of some horrible cage. This is a personal image he developed in a letter to his brother Théo in July, 1880, and which is poignant and self-revelatory. Although he speaks of a future deliverance, he emphasizes the fate of circumstances which is walling him in. Only affection and friendship, he states, would efface the prison.

Eight years later, in a letter written from Arles in 1888 (May 19), he speaks of the humble ring he occupies in the long chain of artists and of the price of health, youth and freedom he paid in order to be there. Almost all the great artists of Van Gogh's century lived as men possessed. And I doubt very much if they ever believed they could live otherwise: Poe, Hölderlin, Baudelaire, Nerval, Nietzsche, Kierkegaard, Coleridge.

In a brilliant short essay, the surrealist Antonin Artaud, himself another

possessed artist, developed the theory that Van Gogh was slain by society (*la société le suicida*) by blotting out in him his supernatural conscience. In company with artists such as Poe, Melville, Hawthorne, Nerval, Van Gogh was able to infuse into the objects he chose a passion that was stronger than mere symbolism. The process was a defiance hurled at nature by a spirit never at rest who demanded for his canvases nothing less than the full intensity of light. Whatever he painted, he seized and possessed. But he made of himself thereby the objective of some terrible curse that we can only guess at. The passion and anguish of his life never ceased growing. At the end, he seemed to come to blows with the universe itself as in some infernal dance that was bound to exhaust him. The final scene was not in the least extraordinary or unexpected, when, on the last Sunday of July, 1890, he walked into a wheatfield, and, facing the sun, shot a bullet into his breast.

IV

The paintings of Van Gogh are his life. They depict not only the exterior phases and geographical positions of his existence, but also the dreams and the spiritual turmoil he was experiencing at the time. When he first began painting between 1883 and 1885 in Holland and Belgium, his work bears the stigmata of the sadness and poverty he was living with. He was able to paint the peasants he saw crushed by the heavy weight of living, because he had become one of them. He had quite literally learned how to think and feel as they did. In Paris between 1886-88, he began the series of paintings that are annunciatory and even characteristic of his greatest work. Under the influence of Japanese prints and the paintings of Delacroix, he developed, as in the portraits of Tanguy, the kind of composition and luminosity we associate with his work. In Arles, between 1888-89, he reached his full power which only deepened during the year or two remaining in his life. There the sun dominated everything: trees, soil, flowers. The Mistral, which he often mentioned in his letters, gave to everything a delirious rhythm and boldness. The months at Saint-Rémy, between 1889-90, were spent on extraordinary imitations of Rembrandt, Delacroix, Daumier, Millet, and in studies that literally celebrated the greatness of trees. Between May and July of 1890, in Auvers-sur-Oise, he continued with landscapes, portraits, still-lives.

The ensemble of this vast work represents a kind of vehemence in painting, a relentless belief in the genius of painting and in the need to paint, which one sees in the career of Goya, El Greco, Dürer, Bosch. His sympathy for nature, his feeling for it, was so great that he became an integral part of it to such a degree that he was able to perceive it as a

universal palpitation. In Arles he painted the Provençal landscape, the flowering fruit trees, the people he met, in a frenzy of creativity. The colors he used testify to his violence and consecration: the vermilion red, Prussian blue, emerald green, and especially the emblematic yellow, symbol of the sun itself. But he dominated every motif, every subject by his style, which, after all is said, is the final vocation of the artist.

By comparison with his disordered life, his work appears luminous and ordered. But in both of them there is the same violence. Van Gogh learned to live in his paintings as the peasants or workers whom he painted so piously in the early part of his career lived in their work. Art he believed the result of persistent, wilful, deliberate labor. The entire universe had to be converted into his style, both the fields of the Southern farms which he painted as if they were dynamic waves leaping up into the air, and the many portraits of himself and others: the postman Rollin, Dr. Rey, the woman of Arles. All of the paintings are endowed and animated with a personal element that is untranslatable and incommunicable. This personal force of the painter is probably the explanation of how he was able to harmonize every landscape he painted and lend to every face of his portraits the quality of the soil and inanimate matter.

Countless passages in his letters testify to his profound feeling for nature, for his almost pantheistic view of nature. A perfect communion with it always meant a forgetting of himself. At such moments his personal troubles would dissolve and his picture would come to him as in a dream (*et le tableau me vient comme dans un rêve*). In one notation he writes that whenever he feels a great need for religion, he goes outside into the night in order to paint the stars. By the very act of painting, he tries to reach a way of living that will not be troubled with memories and harassing thoughts.

Van Gogh was intoxicated by the sun. He loved to paint bare-headed in the full sunlight as if thereby he could imprison its brilliance and transpose it on to his canvases. His work is a kind of sun-passion. It represents a mounting toward the sun and a final assumption therein. The frequent sun-flowers in his work are not merely artificial symbols or real objects in his familiar world. They are the daily or yearly reduplication of his sun-passion, that principle by which one becomes everything by being totally consumed.

V

Before becoming a painter, Van Gogh embarked upon a literal religious vocation. Both his early impulse toward humanitarianism, which was the basis of his religious zeal, and his later artistic activity, were efforts to quell,

by means of channelling and exploiting, his personal anguish. Especially in the Borinage section of Belgium, he was noticed for his apostolic fervor, his spirit of sacrifice, his willingly-accepted poverty, his excessive asceticism. And yet often his desire to serve others was repudiated and scoffed at. In England he used to visit churches. In Amsterdam he studied theology. He tried to become a Protestant minister by first making himself into a kind of people's prophet. He wandered about in the Borinage preaching to the miners and living their life of poverty. A natural instinct urged him toward the disinherited of the earth, to such a violent degree that his religious ardor often appeared scandalous.

Vincent was the type of absolutist who had to give himself completely to whatever he undertook. This trait of total dedication in his character is unquestionably the clue to his human destiny. To painting he brought the same need and desire of consecration which he had brought to his humanitarianism and preaching. It was in fact so absolute a gift of his body and soul that he ended by losing his reason and his life. Art was another ideal to which he was led quite naturally after the failure of his apostolic vocation. And fate caused him to lead there quite as obscure and unknown a life as he had led earlier. No other painter, I suppose, has brought to art so blind a faith as Van Gogh, such a pure compulsion to paint and thereby justify his existence. In his apostolic vocation, his torment was unified and consecrated. In his painting, his torment and his genius became one. He used to paint in a state of exaltation which probably reached its height in the portraits, wheatfields and cypresses he painted at the clinic of Saint-Rémy. His life was sacrificial, at first a religious-humanitarian sacrifice, and then an immolation to art which is also of a religious nature.

A stamp of religious consecration marks each stage of his life when he played to the fullest the role of vanquished. In one of his letters to Théo, he compared himself to Prometheus. Every act of his life takes on its meaning from this central characteristic of a man oppressed who fuses his genius with his oppression. Even the tragi-pathetic gesture of cutting off the lobe of his ear, after a quarrel with Gauguin, and offering it to a prostitute, has the appearance of expiation as well as exaltation, of humility as well as extravagance. Art and madness are as close allies as life and death.

One of his greatest paintings, done at Arles in September, 1888, is the *Café de nuit*, the night café which stays open all night, where he used to live and take his meals. He calls the painting one of his ugliest, in which he tried to express with red and green the most terrible of the human passions. The room is blood red and dark yellow with a green billiard table in the center. Everywhere there is antithesis: in the reds and greens, in the

sleeping men and the large empty room, in the pink bouquet on the counter. In a letter to Théo, he wrote that he tried to describe in this painting the kind of place where one can lose one's mind and commit crimes. It is the atmosphere of an infernal furnace, of pale sulphur, a setting not unlike that of hell in Sartre's *Huis Clos*. The white coat of the proprietor turns him into a fallen angel.

Van Gogh's religious experience and his passion for painting, which are unquestionably related, tell an immemorial dilemma: the battle waged between a weak body and a noble soul, between insufficient matter and exultant spirit. The course of his life was precisely that between the mournful foggy landscape of his native Zundert in Holland and the flaming sunlight of Provence. At all times he yearned for communion, first by means of his awkward speech and charity when he tried to befriend the miners of the Borinage and the weavers of Neueneen, and then by the powerful hallucinations of his canvases.

His particular form of religion encouraged him to speak directly with God, to a dialogue without intermediary. The same kind of boldness encouraged him to work directly under the sun, to paint the sun as if he didn't fear being pierced by its rays. But the sun ended by conquering Van Gogh. To support directly the sun's rays is a kind of defiance. Such pantheism ends by eradicating all exits, all solutions, all salvations. The sun-worshipper ends by being its victim.

Only in his treatment of the sun disc and of sun-flowers does one feel Van Gogh a symbolist painter. It was his most sumptuous motif, his most extravagant allegory. Even on the paintings where it is not depicted, one senses its presence and its power. As Nietzsche with his Zarathoustra pretended to set up competition with the Gospels, so Van Gogh with his sun pretended to go as far as his body will carry a man.

In performing any such ascension, as those men of the 19th century undertook, the moment comes when one has to pay up for the very gifts that made such an ascension possible. These are gifts that probably come to the artist at his birth, and no artist, no man for that matter, has ever fully realized his gifts. Such an artist as Van Gogh assumes and makes his own his past and present experiences rather than relegating them to the recesses of his subconscious. But such an ascension as both he and Rimbaud undertook is beyond any human endurance. As in the myth of Orpheus, they were victimized by some malevolent force. The sun is always the conqueror. Its light will end by consuming the man who defies it, who believes he can mount into it.

Van Gogh's early excessive love for the downtrodden of humanity, a

love comparable to Dostoevsky's, is equated later in his love of painting. But he was extraordinarily harassed in both vocations. He lived as if pursued by some undefined demon. He gave of himself to the poor and the destitute, as if thereby he could totally annihilate himself. And after that, he painted picture after picture as if the practice of art were able to exorcize him. The world calls this attitude and especially the result of this attitude: madness. Vincent holds his place in company with Poe, Hölderlin, Baudelaire. Like Rimbaud, he belongs to another race whom the conventions of Western culture will not affect because he is so different from the conventionalized. Such artists give us the impression of being announcers and prophets, of telling us obscurely something we don't yet fully understand. And yet we do realize, although we are just beginning to, that they reveal a very special religious interpretation of human suffering. It can be narrowed down even more: to the kind of suffering peculiar to the artistic temperament in a period of history where the major systems of hope in the world were not essentially religious. If the central element of what we might call the myth of the modern artist, as exemplified in Van Gogh and Rimbaud, is a flight from the world whereby the world is rediscovered, we can easily sense the strong Christian formula in such a myth.

The great negations of the artists of the 19th century will ultimately be considered the truest bases for an understanding of their century and what the subsequent century, our own, is confusedly trying to evoke. A purely Christian art is probably impossible today because of the age, and from an orthodox Christian viewpoint, Rimbaud and Van Gogh forgot that they were first men and secondly artists. From a future age they may well be looked back upon as examples of fallen angels, whose unity of being was broken, who were incapable of reaching and realizing the full splendor of their being.

THE PSYCHIC VICTORY OF TALENT*

(A Psychoanalytic Evaluation of Van Gogh)

By Daniel E. Schneider, M.D., New York

IN ART as in dreams no two minds meet at the same gateway to the unknown. This fact perhaps explains the difference between one aesthete and another, and between one psychoanalyst and another; it would prepare us to *expect* varying attitudes toward the necessary and indeed inevitable divergences of approach and interpretation which can be mustered around an examination of the life and works of any artist, living or dead.

Nevertheless, there is no reason for chaos simply because the unevenness of our cultural development introduces these extraneous and intrinsic obstacles in the way of a straightforward, monolithic orientation to such a complex personality as that of Vincent van Gogh. The facts of his life are known. A great many of his day-to-day thoughts he recorded for us in his letters to his brother—the volume *Dear Theo*—and in his *Letters to Rappard*, an artist who was his friend by mail only. Indeed, as we know from his relationship to his brother, to Rappard, and above all to Paul Gauguin, Vincent could not endure being too close to any man or woman for any length of time, even though he hungered for friendship and love.

We have a right to expect that a science of personality can take these facts, including Vincent's overt masochistic attacks on his own body which culminate in suicide, and at least explain why Vincent behaved the way he did. And, indeed, we can do that psychoanalytically with a fair degree of accuracy.

We have also the right to expect that a professional aesthete, steeped in traditions of art, in history and technique, can tell us what past and contemporary aesthetic influences are burnt into these brilliantly lyrical canvases—a magnificent testimonial to what the liberation of talent can accomplish in nine years of Vincent's tragic lifetime. Certainly any competent and sensitive

* From the symposium on Van Gogh, at the Chicago Meeting of the College Art Association, Jan. 28, 1950.

student of painting in particular and aesthetics in general can tell us these things very accurately.

But these two explanations alone (however fitted together or put side by side) would leave all of us, I am afraid, terribly disappointed. For they are only peripheral, though essential, to the really cogent secret we want to pursue and discover.

How could such an isolated, masochistic, suffering, pathetic human being become a virtual *Prometheus* of painting? Where is the giant in this man? And why, having once become literally *Prometheus Unbound*, does he explode into self-destruction, a destruction which is heralded for us in his last wild, racing, agitated canvases? Was he always a madman, and does one have to be mad to be great? Or rather was his painting, his talent in brief, a victory, a torch of line and color, a set of unforgettable songs rising high for all the world to hear, out of the unnecessary crematorium of his character? Does one have to live sadistically or masochistically a prisoner within oneself to reach into these whirlpools of color, to create these faces literally starting with the fullness of the many-hued blood coursing through their veins and reflected in their skin texture? Why was this master of line and color never able to *paint* a nude (though he made pencil drawings of one or two)—or was all Nature for him the body of a universal woman with struggling earthbound children at work within and upon her? Surely no painter ever endowed nature with such intense erotic burgeoning qualities.

And this, the endowment of Nature with every erotic sensation, is part of the secret of his life and character. But it is an almost open part of the secret—he says so with the very thinnest disguise—in his *Letters to Rappard* where he expresses his violent terror of ordinary flirtatious, bourgeois women. He calls them vipers, bloodsuckers; he compares them to Medusa, and contrariwise he extols the one woman worth loving, Dame Nature.

But, for the psychoanalyst, this is very superficial. All of us have heard, *ad nauseam*, about the artist's love for Nature. Everybody loves Nature. Psychoanalytically we take a different approach and say that what Vincent *projects* onto the vast framework of Nature is not only his unconscious *wish*, but even more his *defense against that wish*. It is among other things his deep and intuitive awareness of the *relationship* between that wish and that defense which determines ultimately the quality of his art, a wish and defense best portrayed in natural scenes. But, to go further here, one must be prepared to understand certain basic things about the psychologic meaning and role of talent. Otherwise we shall not be able to understand Vincent van Gogh.

A final caution before we begin—one with respect to medical and certain kinds of psychiatric diagnosis. Do not be misled by all the ponderous medical and neurologic diagnoses of Vincent's illness. In the first place, no one knows what was actually organically wrong with him. Indeed, his long years of abject poverty and severe starvation, superimposed upon his particular upbringing and his overwork, might be all that really mattered. Beware, in matters pertaining to art and dreams, of the various Latin and Germanic classifications of physical and psychic disturbance. The microscope can never tell us the structure of personality. The institutional psychiatrist, who tries to explain art and dreams according to the various classifications of the insane, is cataloguing nothing but the varieties of his own ignorance.

For one must understand the relationship between art and dreams. One must understand that art-work is a continuous dream-work in which the personal dream becomes "turned inside out" and cast into *form* which is communicative by virtue of being intuitively and implicitly interpretive. And anyone who wishes to exhibit and to profit from the public communication of his dreams cannot shrink from the inevitable public right to try to understand the sources and the material of his dreams. Indeed, every artist deserving of the name takes delight and pride in that very courage and capacity for self-revelation and self-interpretation. Anyone who wants to put the artist under wraps is no friend of artist or art. For we do not examine the sources of dreams and of art for any purpose other than a cultural or scientific one. We need furthermore to know what carries the artist to his originality and what sustains his pleasure in creativity. We need to acknowledge, for the sake of all humanity, that every man has his talent. And today we need to make war on excessive inhibition with its inevitable destructiveness; we need the secret of the development of talent and of creativeness. This is the essential activity of a world at peace. A working union in our universities between the field of the fine arts and that of applied psychoanalysis would be a great step forward in the development of our culture.

It is in this spirit that we approach Vincent van Gogh whose career is an example of our failure to protect such men, to help them to protect themselves, in the entire trajectory of their lives. Above all, he is an example of the psychic victory of talent.

The simplest way to proceed is through Vincent's paintings in order to formulate a concept as to where Vincent's psychic victory lay, why his talent grew and how it literally kept him alive until success came to close. For, although a great deal of stress has been laid on his dramatic mutilation of his ear and his sending the lobe to a prostitute, this was not the critical

factor though it was a culminating one. Rather there is strong evidence that the first trumpets of success had already sounded in the distance; Paul Gauguin's coming to stay with him in the little yellow house at Arles is already a sign of Vincent's growing prestige. Paul Gauguin was too powerful a sadist not to be tempted to crush Vincent, especially when it became clear that Vincent's fame and power would increase. And we know from recent startling examples in our own country how dramatically suicide follows seemingly from having reached a pinnacle of achievement and acclaim. One of Vincent's paintings sold. An article appeared praising his work. He was invited to exhibit in Brussels. The signs of success were there, faint but definite, just before the end.

First, examine the self-portraits, with no attention to their chronology except to isolate for comparison with all the others the magnificent study following his ear-mutilation. They are each, to me, as different from each other as it is possible to imagine. Indeed, were it not for certain stylistic characteristics which mark them as Vincent, it would not be easy at first glance to say that any two of them resemble each other particularly. His pictures of himself are constantly changing far beyond reality. They are each filled with high tension, with the bursting suffusion of color in motion. The mouth never relaxes. There is a certain pursing of the lips. In no portrait except the one after his mutilation is there the suggestion of a smile. In two of the portraits a pipe is held between the lips; and, interestingly enough, Vincent's self-portraits are never without the *motif* of a certain treatment of hair, even in the portrait after amputation where he is clean-shaven, where there is a comparatively striking relaxation of musculature and smoothness of skin texture, where the pipe-smoke curls mischievously, where there is the faintest hint of a smile in the secondary mouth-lines, even here the hair-motif must be portrayed. For it is quite obvious, it seems to me, that the choice of this particular furry cap is really the choice of a displaced beard. Together with this, Vincent is always carefully buttoned up at the neck no matter what kind of garment he wears. In one we barely see his hand as he holds his palette—and this from a master of drawing. To me, taken together with Vincent's failure ever to paint a nude, these elements, especially the comparative contentment of the face following the ear-mutilation, indicate that Vincent stood in sheer terror of his own violent but secret interest in human nakedness. Anatomy, human anatomy, exists for Vincent only through layers of clothes. Not so when he approaches Dame Nature. She is always nakedly sexual in Vincent's eyes. Sometimes when she approaches human form, as in the drawing *Wheat Sheaves*, she

even dances, though again *headlessly*, for Vincent must never identify her nor identify himself with her nor define his relationship to her. Nature is so attractive to him because she is naked and permissibly so.

I said there was no nude in his painting and that he was always buttoned up, that his figures were all clothed figures against a background of the sheer nudity, sheer sexuality of Nature. But there is one exception, and this exception proves the rule. That exception is the painting *Pietà* after Delacroix. Here there is a nude. To be sure, he tells us it was Delacroix's idea, but it is the nude of Christ, draped to the waist, and beside Christ stands the compassionate somewhat Dutch-appearing mother. The face is, it seems to me, Vincent's face; he, too, like Jesus, was red-haired. The conscious theme which attracts him is the theme of compassion, the same compassion which draws him to the influence of Millet, which earlier in his life makes him go down into the mines of the Borinage and, Christ-like, to live in such starvation and self-abnegation that the churchmen expel him from his career as a preacher because he is so much a Christian martyr that he lowers the dignity of the church! He is always indeed the crucified son of the suffering peasant. He atones, denies himself food, buttons himself up, fears personal nakedness, marries a pregnant prostitute, works to the point of exhaustion, avoids too close contact with any normal man or woman except by letter, and with his eyes devours and portrays, in lyrical interpretation, the inexhaustible, seductive, fully nourishing, rich-boweled, placid, serene, lewd, raging Mother, the earth. His art saves him from the sin of lusty nakedness and naked lust by transmutation of it. The aim of his sexuality is lifted up to the aim of his art. He, the creator-artist, identifies himself formlessly with light and darkness, with the sky in brief. The many-haloed suns and stars (and even lamps and candles) are his own eyes looking down upon and lighting up the earth. And as with every great talent, he is a master in the capture of motion, stereoscopic and stroboscopic motion. He builds up stereoscopic planes of seeing at the same time that his lines go whirling rhythmically.

There are the essentials of my own reaction; one could expand this type of premise endlessly, however, without coming closer to the psychoanalytic role of talent in general and the specific esthetic manifestation of Vincent's talent, his gift and his technique in particular.

Let us now take these very few reactions and make a formulation as to what Vincent has done, how the relationship between his wish and his defense against that wish has become transmuted into his grasp of form, of line and color—given the gift of drawing, a gift he permitted himself to develop only comparatively late in life. All other doors, all other attempts

to identify himself with the nearest men of his family, had to be closed off first. He had to fail as an art-dealer, as a martyr-preacher first. He had to be forced literally, by the power of events, to the discovery and development of a talent with which he had been born. Talent in painting runs in his family by the way; his cousin Anton Mauve was a good, competent artist who, however, had no more understanding of Vincent than had anyone else. Not even his brother Theo, whose relationship to Vincent is intensely neurotic, really understands him.

Our formulation is as follows, and it holds for all the great talents among whom Vincent has a right to be classed: the gift of genius, keen to all the natural laws of motion in whatever medium, however much it may lie fallow, is one which does not permit ordinary identification with one's parent. The gift of genius is the result of an increased psychic intuitively interpretive capacity and urge to expressive activity which cannot be fulfilled by simply accepting the routines of a less gifted father, uncle, or brother. To do so is to be discontented, irritable, restless, hypersensitive. The gifted man has no alternative but to identify with the creative act itself in all its implications human and universal, beginning with curiosity as to how human life is created and going far beyond that into all the unfelt, unseen, but inevitable progress of man into the unknown. The gifted man, keen in childhood to the mystery of sexual union, becomes keen about the mysteries which lie beyond all laws. The inventor, the artist, the creative scientist—Thomas Edison, Leonardo da Vinci, Albert Einstein—these men illustrate the various activities of such increased psychic capacities which demand more, much more, than identification with the routines and faiths of the fathers and forefathers. Vincent van Gogh's life is a shining example of this kind of restless search which cannot be denied, or if denied, can only lead to greater unhappiness because it leads to meaninglessness. Only if one finds one's own true Ego, one's own true creative direction can life have full meaning, and it is worth whatever unhappiness and struggle to find it. Again Vincent van Gogh illustrates this fact.

But while this is the ultimate goal for the very gifted man, one does not simply vault to that position, not even if one is a child prodigy. The very possession of that gift requires a stable platform of predominant masculinity if one is male or predominant femininity if one is female, if that gift is to achieve its finest flowering. We all know the phenomenon of the great homosexual artist, but even where overt homosexuality takes its toll in distortion of the gift and in many other ways, at least it makes a provision for a love-relationship. Homosexuality is always a perverted second-best; it

is distorted; it brings many social and personal disasters in its train, but at least it provides some relief of tension. And the great artist, whether homosexual or heterosexual, is not unaware of the opposites that go into creativity. The heterosexual artist, if a male, is not terrified of feminine, passive attributes of life, at least not in the portrayal or use of such elements of his personality. The great artist intuitively, like the scientific psychoanalyst explicitly, recognizes the deep and fundamental truth that we are all made by a man and a woman, that we all have masculine and feminine attributes, though one set normally does and should predominate. The artist knows this basic design of creation.

The greatest misfortune that can befall any human being in his personal life, no matter how great his talent, is to have a violent conflict about identification with either sex with the result that he recoils from contact with both men and women. He becomes lonely, isolated, tense, peculiar, and if there is no rescue mechanism, he may be on the road to a psychosis, to outright insanity. For the mind is based upon the sexual tension-mechanism of the human brain. This is why the mind can be shattered.

But there is a rescue factor in all men, something that can save even such a conflicted human being from schism or explosion, and that factor is one's pleasure-giving, tension-relaxing talent. The greater the talent, the greater can the victory be over those forces which prevent stable identification, providing certain minimum conditions of love exist. Within oneself, one can unite the diverging elements and create something to be loved, interpreted and portrayed, something that combines the male and the female, the personal and the universal, the maternal and paternal. Artistic talent, in many partial ways, intuitively interprets and analyzes. This is inherent in that mastery of form for which all artists struggle. Talent can then bring about for a time a great psychic victory. For, in an optimum situation, the great intuitive artist strengthens himself in this way, though it is a much slower and more painful process than our modern method of psychoanalysis. As a matter of fact, the forerunner of psychoanalysis is Art. Without this, the struggle even in so talented and powerful an artist as Vincent is heart-breaking and may fail in one final explosion. Vincent is not great because of his neurosis; he is great in spite of it. Ultimately his neurosis destroyed him. No organic disease by itself destroyed Vincent van Gogh though he was constitutionally sensitive and may have had an epileptic tendency; he was destroyed by the combined forces of neurotic self-starvation, neurotic lack of love, neurotic over-work, by a powerful neurotic necessity—a consuming psychic masochism.

Remember, not only Vincent but his brother Theo suffered from a profoundly inhibited upbringing as well as from their theoretical hereditary taints. The effect of the van Gogh parents upon their children is reflected in the tortured lives of these two violently inhibited men. Vincent's parents were in no way prepared to encourage his talent though his interest in drawing and color apparently manifested itself in a very timid way in his childhood. While Picasso's father did everything to encourage the artistic strivings of his son in childhood, by contrast it seems, if one reads between the lines, the traditions and routines of Vincent's parents' negative or unknowing attitude tended to crush him. One remembers that it was a minister near the Belgian Borinage who, himself an artist, helped Vincent discover his talent.

The result of this was that Vincent could never complete the intermediate step of identification with a man, with a full manly proud attitude toward women. The first girl selected during his stay in England is a girl betrothed to another man, the second is a close relative, a cousin, the recent widow of another man, the third is a prostitute pregnant by an unknown man of the streets. He marries her, then leaves her. He seeks like an infant for situations impossible of fulfillment and demanding in turn the psychic toll of guilt and atonement. He must never eat properly, he must never partake of the body of a woman, he must never create his own child. He must never completely, in his personal life, differentiate away from his attachment to his mother, into an identification with fatherhood, except under the conditions of Art. Here in this realm, belatedly, at the age of 27, he begins the slow process toward maturity, desperately holding himself together by the very existence of his long-denied talent itself.

And, I think, there was a chance for Vincent to succeed, had the cards not been stacked against him. Had Paul Gauguin not been the cynical sadist he was, had he been a man of true depth and kindness, Vincent might have succeeded in having a friend for the first time and in identifying with Gauguin, but, in justice to Gauguin, the difficulty lay in the fact that Vincent approached Gauguin with a powerful, unconscious infantile desire. In brief, Vincent approached Gauguin much as a three-year-old child approaches a father. And to complete the triangle there was the prostitute who exposed Vincent, the unfinished child, to the deep feeling of infantile betrayal. The disguised, degraded mother gave herself to the disguised sadistic father, a substitute father who would not respect (and could not know) Vincent's longing for both physical and fatherly encouragement and love from him. And, characteristically, instead of simply giving Gauguin a good beating, Vincent's aggression is too deep, too savage, too murderous. It comes up

against his own over-severe conscience and boomerangs upon himself. The castrative rage against the disguised father Gauguin turns against himself and he sends the severed ear-lobe to the prostitute accusing her of failure to protect him and his manhood.

Against this background let us discuss three paintings related to the Gauguin episode to see what color means to van Gogh and how his compositions show his intuitive awareness of the meaning of symbols in his mind. These three paintings are *The Open Bible*, *Gauguin's Chair*, and *The Self-Portrait*, originally dedicated to Gauguin.

The Open Bible with a candle and candlestick beside it is undoubtedly the symbol for his religious preacher-father. He could not identify with that activity. It remains the sign of a power denied to him. In this painting he places next to the Bible Zola's *Joi de Vivre*, a volume advocating sexual and sensual freedom. This grouping tells the story most simply. Its language is as clear as the picture language of the orient.

Now examine *Gauguin's Chair*. Observe its purple shadow which we shall find again. But more important, see how the essential elements in the composition of the *Open Bible* done years before now rests upon the seat of the chair, forward near its edge. This choice of chair, and this position of books and candle is so obvious in its meaning, one need hardly point out that Gauguin's phallic power as artist-father is here portrayed in utter simplicity. And, against the wall, at a respectful but cautious distance is the lit candle surrounded by that halo which is Vincent's identifying signature. This is, psychologically, a most powerful painting—a clear portrayal of that passive love a son has for a father, the awe of the father in which the son stands, and his ultimate hope of equation with paternal power. I know of nothing more eloquent, more accurate in all painting, than this portrayal of that critical phase through which a son must pass to become a father. Yet the small light says: "I shine brighter than you do, though you are bigger and stronger. I have a haloed light." Vincent's paintings are a language that speak clearly and fit with his admiration of Oriental drawing.

Finally now, look at the self-portrait originally to have been dedicated to Gauguin, the dedication smeared over by Van Gogh when he learned that Gauguin had fled from him instead of standing by. See the strip of purple color on the coat, the same which marks *Gauguin's Chair*. Like a child, and this self-portrait seems to me to have a child-like quality under its desperation, he wants to wear Gauguin's colors. These three paintings put together have a telling, intrinsic sadness. There three dreams were "turned inside out" so fruitlessly so far as Vincent's hope of Gauguin's (and a father's) love and

friendship is concerned. And, from that point on, once the physical pathway of release by self-mutilation is opened, it is only a matter of time until an even larger sweep of the destructive instinct takes its toll in repeated attacks. For his talent can no longer bind together that integration of self which is the basis of all mental health. In the sphere of his art his manhood is as shattered with respect to Gauguin as it was shattered with respect to his father in the sphere of religion. The Ego, robbed of its creative rescue mechanism, falls apart again and again in delirium after delirium, until the ultimate self-destruction. And he senses that it is coming because he can no longer sustain the exquisite balance of that universe of escape in which his eyes, disguised as haloed stars and suns, in their whirling stroboscopic and stereoscopic motion look down upon the body of his earth-mother in all her tenderness and her orgies, in all her potentiality of nourishment and her seductiveness. She has become like the prostitute to whom he sent his ear. She is hatefully dangerous and the form of his intercourse with her, out of the illuminated heavens where he shines down upon her, is now perpetually interrupted. He knows his Ego, his pleasure and reality as an artist, is about to dissolve under the unbearable challenge: *Change your character or die!* His last painting is one of upheaval—of agitated cornfields with flocks of black birds ominous beneath raging skies (cf. *Cornfield with Blackbirds*). His secret femininity now raging with desire, the source of which is his identification with his mother, is no longer to be denied. His inner purity and perfection is now damaged for all to see. Manhood is no longer the haloed suns and stars of the creative sky. It has become insistent enough to strike out against the father Gauguin. His body is undeniably physical. He must seek out a woman or seek out a man or perish! He chose death; he had no alternative because he had no help.

Look at this last picture. Look at it naïvely and unashamedly if you can. Dame Nature, the earth, is portrayed by a dark cleft, the road, between her heaving limbs. The Creator-sky is dark and blind and unhaloed. The ominous birds are the black death of his last joyous thoughts, his last living thought-creatures. His artistic joy, the one solace within the inferno of his character, is on the wing.

Lest anyone doubt the accuracy of these compositional elements, himself as peasant, himself as Creator-sun and haloed stars, Nature as a rhythmic woman bearing children in sorrow, listen to some of Vincent's own comments:

"If a man tries to create thoughts instead of children, he is still a part of humanity. . . . To express hope by some star, the eagerness of a soul by

a sunset radiance, certainly there is nothing in that of stereoscopic realism but is it not something that actually exists? . . . (I) paint men and women with that something of the eternal which the halo used to symbolize. . . ."

Or with respect to what has been said about the painting *Gauguin's Chair*, this, concerning his profound attachment to his father: "I returned to my room where Pa's chair stood near the little table on which were Pa's textbooks and writing books from the previous day. . . . I was overcome like a child."

These facts tell us the state of Vincent's Ego-development, his failure to differentiate in his own personal sexual life and his rescue of himself by his painting in which he is the Creator-father, the haloed light of the sky, impregnating Dame Nature and possessing her, producing suffering children like himself afraid of actual nakedness under the sky in which he identifies himself with "serious sorrow," with all the implications of deprivation, hunger, and castration.

His talent, like all talent, becomes interpretive of himself, of his own unresolved incestuous wishes toward his mother, and his blocked defense with a consequent erotic universalization of himself in terms of the environment of the poor and oppressed whose only heritage is their working of the fertile earth.

It is this which gives us the secret of his form and his technique. It is this which leads us to the giant in the man. It is *the particular interpretation of life which Vincent makes* out of his own agony that draws us throughout this nation and throughout many nations to his painting. It is this which attracts us like moths to a flame, this intensity of our pure sexual, lyrical, common nakedness which is the source of our joy, our sorrows, our children, our taboos, our climates, our need for food, clothing, shelter, our cleansing of ourselves. This lyrical sexual nakedness diffused, transmuted, universalized, this is the secret of Van Gogh's painting. Examine in this connection his rare drawing (*not* a painting) of a nude and see how her beauty is denied by her masculinized, ugly, vulgar face, however accentuated by her form. Wish and defense. The naked woman must not have the power to draw him into her body. If she attracts, she must also repel. But he could not paint her in color. That would be to give her life, blood, light. That would be to make her exciting personally. Had Van Gogh survived and transcended the episode with Gauguin, he might have developed out of his compulsive, prohibited universalization into the most magnificent painter of the body of man. Examine his exquisite drawings of hands.

We can now understand the essence of the particular stereoscopic and

stroboscopic motion Van Gogh gives to his scenes and the striving for the utmost illumination in terms of that freshly bathed morning nakedness of life after a restful sleep. This makes up part of the beauty of the painting *The White Orchard* and many others. *The White Orchard* is a magnificent example of his planes of stereoscopic motion. There are no whirling skies here.

The peculiar building-up of paint so that on close photography a tree-trunk actually looks like a tree-trunk and the motion peculiar to him, the waves and phalanxes and curlings of rhythmic strokes, all these have but one purpose, and he uses everything he can to achieve it.

This is the purpose of visual and tactile, interpretively erotic tangibility. One loves to feast one's eyes; one is impelled to rush into these surging, undulating, rhythmic fields and to loll in them. The whirling stroboscopic night skies (*Cypresses at Night*) induce in us the same feeling as that whirling sensation which occurs in us when we dance. And Vincent is very consistent once he knows his wish, his defense, its consequences, the scenes and symbols he will use to sing this erotic joy to the world in overt terms of Nature but at the same time in covert terms of all our sensations of nakedness and necessities of intimate congress.

The technique is quite simple in its every detail, the technique of the blending rhythms of the stereoscopic and the stroboscopic, of moving depth and whirling color in all possible combinations. This is a technique demanded by Vincent's longing as well as by his interpretation of life, an interpretation that hurls the defiance of naked beauty into the face of narrow prohibitions and yet is vanquished by the unresolved sense of guilt which his father and Gauguin stimulate in him. Hence finally comes the compassion for all children so vanquished. This is Vincent van Gogh painting the eternal struggle of the sensitive, hopeful, radiant, erotic child under the sky and on the earth where the fears and strictures of religion and the horrors of coal-mining blacken, bend, and shrivel those radiant children. Vincent van Gogh's conquest of these forces of visual motion is also the invitation for the spectator to come into his world in which he sees all the hope that ought to be fulfilled, honestly, savagely, and nakedly. This mastery of motion and of capturing and eliciting psychic patterns of development for the purpose of artistic interpretive language is the essence of all human talent in music, architecture, dancing, etc. We know the dictum that music is architecture in motion and architecture is frozen music.

Listen to Vincent finally when he says: "The trees are in blossom and I want to paint a Provencal orchard of astounding gaiety. . . . I cannot tell

you enough, I am ravished, ravished with what I see. . . . I have a terrible lucidity at moments. . . . The picture comes to me as in a dream."

He has turned his dreams into places where we want to go, into feelings we want to have, into things we want to touch. In this way, he himself enjoyed himself and interpreted himself for us, seeing more clearly, feeling more deeply than most of us, in spite of all agony, all prohibition. This is talent. And when we create the kind of world in which children will be safe, treasured, and understood, this same capacity of man will give us greater wonders than ever before. Until then, it sustains us, interpreting our advancing vision of the future and countering the onslaughts of the present. This is the great psychic victory won by the talent of Man.



Louis Boza, Self Portrait, pen and ink drawing.

CONTEMPORARY DOCUMENTS

MODERN ART—1950

THE Institute of Contemporary Art, Boston, The Museum of Modern Art, New York, and the Whitney Museum of American Art, New York, all institutions devoted primarily to the art of our time, have joined in the following statement of general principles governing their relation to contemporary art. This statement is made in the hope that it may help to clarify current controversial issues about modern art, which are confusing to the public and harmful to the artist. Its object is not to bar honest differences of opinion, but to state certain broad principles on which we are agreed.

The field of contemporary art is immensely wide and varied, with many diverse viewpoints and styles. We believe that this diversity is a sign of vitality and of the freedom of expression inherent in a democratic society. We oppose any attempt to make art or opinion about art conform to a single point of view.

We affirm our belief in the continuing validity of what is generally known as modern art, the multiform movement which was in progress during the opening years of the twentieth century and which has produced the most original and significant art of our period. We believe that the modern movement was a vital force not only in its pioneer phases, but that its broad, everchanging tradition of courageous exploration and creative achievement is a vital force today, as is proved by the continuing capacity of the younger generation of artists to embody new ideas in new forms. At the same time we believe in the validity of conservative and retrospective tendencies when they make creative use of traditional values. We do not assume that modernity in itself is any guarantee of quality or importance.

We believe that a primary duty of a museum concerned with contemporary art is to be receptive to new tendencies and talents. We recognize the historic fact that the new in art, as in all other creative activities, is appreciated at first by a relatively small proportion of the public; almost all the art of the past hundred and fifty years now generally accepted as good was originally misunderstood, neglected or ridiculed not only by the public but by many artists, critics and museum officials. We place in evidence the careers of Blake, Turner, Constable, Delacroix, Corot, Millet, Courbet, Manet, Whistler, Monet, Cézanne, Renoir, Rodin, Gauguin, Van Gogh, Eakins, Ryder, not to mention the leaders of the twentieth century. We also recognize

that some artists of unquestionable merit never become popular, although their work may eventually have a widespread influence. We, therefore, believe that it is a museum's duty to present the art that it considers good, even if it is not yet generally accepted. By so doing, we believe, the museum best fulfills its long-range responsibility to the public.

We believe that the so-called "unintelligibility" of some modern art is an inevitable result of its exploration of new frontiers. Like the scientist's innovations, the procedures of the artist are often not readily understood and make him an easy target for reactionary attack. We do not believe that many artists deliberately aim to be unintelligible, or have voluntarily withdrawn from the public. On the contrary, we believe that most artists today desire communication with a receptive audience. The gap between artist and public, in our opinion, has been greatly exaggerated; actually the public interest in progressive art, as proved by attendance at exhibitions and by attention in the popular press, is larger than at any previous time in history.

We believe in the humanistic value of modern art even though it may not adhere to academic humanism with its insistence on the human figure as the central element of art. Art which explores newly discovered levels of consciousness, new concepts of science and new technological methods is contributing to humanism in the deepest sense, by helping humanity to come to terms with the modern world, not by retreating from it but by facing and mastering it. We recognize the humanistic value of abstract art, as an expression of thought and emotion and the basic human aspirations toward freedom and order. In these ways modern art contributes to the dignity of man.

Contrary to those who attack the advanced artist as anti-social, we believe in his spiritual and social role. We honor the man who is prepared to sacrifice popularity and economic security to be true to his personal vision. We believe that his unworldly pursuit of perfection has a moral and therefore a social value. But we do not believe that unreasonable demands should be made on him. Though his spiritual energy may be religious in the broadest sense, he should not be asked to be priest or saint. Though his art may symbolize discipline or liberty, he cannot be asked to save civilization.

Believing strongly in the quality and vitality of American art, we oppose its definition in narrow nationalistic terms. We hold that American art which is international in character is as valid as art obviously American in subject matter. We deplore the revival of the tendency to identify American art exclusively with popular realism, regional subject and nationalistic sentiment.

We also reject the assumption that art which is esthetically an innovation must somehow be socially or politically subversive, and therefore un-American. We deplore the reckless and ignorant use of political or moral terms in attacking modern art. We recall that the Nazis suppressed modern art, branding it "degenerate," "bolshevistic," "international," and "un-German"; and that the Soviets suppressed modern art as "formalistic," "bourgeois," "subjective," "nihilistic" and "un-Russian"; and that Nazi officials insisted and Soviet officials still insist upon a hackneyed realism saturated with nationalistic propaganda.

We believe that it is not a museum's function to try to control the course of art or to tell the artist what he shall or shall not do; or to impose its tastes dogmatically upon the public. A museum's proper function, in our opinion, is to survey what artists are doing, as objectively as possible, and to present their works to the public as impartially as is consistent with those standards of quality which the museum must try to maintain. We acknowledge that humility is required of those who select works of art, as it is of those who create them or seek to understand them.

We believe that there is urgent need for an objective and openminded attitude toward the art of our time, and for an affirmative faith to match the creative energy and integrity of the living artist.

The Institute of Contemporary Art, Boston

JAMES S. PLAUT, *Director*

FREDERICK S. WIGHT, *Director of Education*

The Museum of Modern Art, New York

RENE D'HARNONCOURT, *Director*

ALFRED H. BARR, JR., *Director, Museum Collections*

ANDREW C. RITCHIE, *Director, Department of
Painting and Sculpture*

Whitney Museum of American Art, New York

HERMON MORE, *Director*

LLOYD GOODRICH, *Associate Director*

news reports

John Davis Hatch, Jr., has been appointed Director of the Norfolk Museum of Arts and Sciences. Mr. Hatch will continue his studies of early American Arts and Crafts, and particularly the study of John Vanderlyn (1775-1852), the American painter.

Milton Horn resigned last June at Olivet College and is now practicing sculpture in Chicago. Mr. Horn has just completed a large relief for the Blyth Park School in Riverside, Ill. Perkin and Will were the architects.

Miss Lynn Lagerstrom, graduate and former faculty member of the Chicago Art Institute, has been appointed curator and manager of the department of modern art, Grand Central Art Galleries, New York.

Alexander Raoul Stavenitz has been appointed associate professor of art at City College, New York. He will teach courses in art teacher education and three-dimensional design.

Norman Daly, associate professor in the department of painting at Cornell, exhibited his paintings at the Bertha Schaefer Gallery, New York, in February.

William Lester, who teaches at the University of Texas, recently showed his abstractions at the Passedoit Gallery, New York.

Robert Chadeayne, professor of Fine Arts, Ohio State University, exhibited his painting at the Columbus Gallery of Fine Arts in January.

Dr. Alfred Neumeyer, until recently director of the Mills College Art Gallery, is the newly appointed director of

the Achenbach Foundation for Graphic Arts of the San Francisco Public Library.

Dr. Sherman Lee, assistant director of the Seattle Art Museum and authority on Oriental art, lectured March 5 at the Los Angeles County Museum on "Aspects of the Art of Greater India" as exemplified in the current Indian exhibition.

M. S. Soria of Michigan State College lectured recently at the University of Toronto.

Hans Schleger, artist and designer, has been named visiting associate professor in the Institute of Design of Illinois Institute of Technology.

William H. Calfee, head of the art department of the American University in Washington, D.C. exhibited his paintings at the Baltimore Museum of Art in April. Mr. Calfee had his first solo show in New York at the Weyhe Gallery in December.

Henry Chandlee Forman, head of the art department at Agnes Scott College, Decatur, Georgia, has prepared a series of six illustrated lectures on fine arts, archaeology and history. For additional information or engagement, write to Mr. Forman.

Dr. Raymond F. Piper, Department of Philosophy, Syracuse University, is searching for examples, since 1917, of religious and metaphysical art for a forthcoming book. Names and addresses of the artists whose work might fit his requirements should be sent to Dr. Piper.

Franz Bernheimer, instructor in art at Sweet Briar College, exhibited his paintings and drawings during April at the Argent Galleries, New York City.

Buckminster Fuller, faculty member of the Chicago Art Institute and the Black Mountain summer session, conducted a series of five lecture-demonstrations at Cooper Union during April on "Energetic Geometry."

SCHOOL NOTES

CLEVELAND INSTITUTE OF ART.

For its 1950 summer session, the Cleveland Institute of Art has announced a number of special courses of interest to teachers and advanced students. These include Textile Design (Virginia Nepodal), Ceramic Sculpture (Thelma Winter), Ceramics (Charles Mosgo), Enameling (Kenneth Bates), Landscape Painting (Carl Gaertner), Painting Techniques (Peter Dubaniewicz). As guest instructor Jack Levine will teach an advanced course in painting and compositions. A special 9-week seminar-workshop in Silversmithing is to be conducted by William DeHart, nationally known silversmith from the Memphis Academy of Art.

UNIVERSITY OF COLORADO.

Ben Shahn will be teaching during the 10-week summer session between June 19 and August 25.

Dorothy Eisenbach had a one-man show at Bowling Green University in February. She will be on leave during the summer quarter and will be replaced by Charles Annan as visiting artist. Mr. Annan was formerly at the School of Fine Arts in Colorado Springs.

Eleanor Lindstrom is on leave this spring and is traveling in Europe. In her absence Mr. Annan is teaching her classes.

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SCHOOL NOTES

CLEVELAND INSTITUTE OF ART.

For its 1950 summer session, the Cleveland Institute of Art has announced a number of special courses of interest to teachers and advanced students. These include Textile Design (Virginia Nepodal), Ceramic Sculpture (Thelma Winter), Ceramics (Charles Mosgo), Enameling (Kenneth Bates), Landscape Painting (Carl Gaertner), Painting Techniques (Peter Dubaniewicz). As guest instructor Jack Levine will teach an advanced course in painting and compositions. A special 9-week seminar-workshop in Silversmithing is to be conducted by William DeHart, nationally known silversmith from the Memphis Academy of Art.

UNIVERSITY OF COLORADO.

Ben Shahn will be teaching during the 10-week summer session between June 19 and August 25.

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degree in a related field. Christopher Tunnard, Associate Professor of City Planning, will be Director of Planning Studies in the program.

Sir Arthur Leigh Ashton, Director and Secretary of the Victoria and Albert Museum in London, delivered a Woodward Lecture Feb. 11 at the Yale University Art Gallery.

STATE UNIVERSITY OF IOWA. The 20th annual art conference, designed for the teachers and students of art in the Iowa High Schools, was held April 20, 21, 22, 1950. Guest speakers included Ben Shahn, Edwin Ziegfield, and LaVerne Mowry. Students from Chicago Art Institute, Institute of Design, Chicago, and graduate students in art from the university participated in a panel discussion, "The Education of an Artist." Films, exhibitions, and discussions were other features of the conference.

CITY COLLEGE OF NEW YORK. An exhibition of paintings and drawings by 12 art instructors of the City College Adult Education Program was held during April at the 58th Street branch of the New York Public Library. The exhibition featured the work of Vera Andrus, Irene Aronson, Eleanor Bunin, Alfred Crimi, Seymour Ein-wohner, Marvin Friedman, Leona Green, Ludolfs Liberts, Jean-Yves Pique, Leonard Pytlak, Arthur Silz and Harold Stevens.

ILLINOIS INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY. At a dinner April 17 at the Blackstone Hotel, the Illinois Institute of Technology announced formally the expansion of its educational program to include the Institute of Design. Walter Gropius, head of the department of architecture at Harvard University, was guest of honor and spoke on "Design and Industry." The Institute of Design became a degree-granting department of Illinois Tech's engineering division last December.

WOMAN'S COLLEGE OF U.N.C. The 7th Arts Forum of the Woman's College of the University of North Carolina met in Greensboro at the same time

as the Southeastern College Art Conference. Stanley William Hayer, of Brooklyn College, and Aline B. Locheim, associate art editor of *The New York Times*, were present for the Forum and joined with leaders and members of the College Art Conferences for formal and informal meetings to talk about art. There were varied exhibitions as a basis for discussions about art in all of the galleries of the college.

MIDWESTERN COLLEGE ART CONFERENCE

The Midwestern College Art Conference was held Nov. 10, 11, and 12, 1949 in Minneapolis and St. Paul, with Hamline University, Macalester College, Minneapolis Institute of Arts, University of Minnesota, College of St. Katherine, St. Paul Gallery and School of Art, and Walker Art Center as hosts. At this meeting there were 57 institutional and 129 individual members present, a total of 186. This does not include the visitors.

The Conference opened Thursday morning with Andrew Ritchie, Museum of Modern Art, addressing the University Convocation.

On Panel Discussion 1, "The Relation of Art History and Studio Practice in the College Curriculum," appeared Henry Hope, Indiana University, chairman, Thomas M. Folds, Northwestern University, Lester Longman, State University of Iowa, Edward Rannells, University of Kentucky, and James Shipley, University of Illinois. The importance of the study of Art History was discussed at length by the panel, with particular emphasis on the integration of Art History and studio practice.

Participants on Panel Discussion 2, "Fine Arts in General Education," were P. R. McIntosh, University of Florida, chairman, H. Harvard Arnason, University of Minnesota, Arnold Blanch, guest artist, University of Minnesota, Serge Chermayeff, Institute of Design, Chicago, C. Howard Church, Michigan State College, and Charles Parkhurst,

Oberlin College. The function of an art department in a liberal arts college, the introduction of integrated courses, visual aids, the development of the esthetic experience by means of introductory courses in art, and the limitations of present art departments were some of the points discussed during this session.

At the business meeting on Friday, with Paul R. McIntosh presiding, the following officers were elected for 1950: President, H. Harvard Arnason, University of Minnesota; Vice President, Justus Bier, University of Louisville; Secretary-Treasurer, Dord Fitz, University of Kentucky. The membership committee reported the approval of 21 new institutional members. The conference voted to accept the invitation of the University of Kentucky to meet next year in Lexington. Members of the program committee for the 1950 meeting are: Edward Rannels, University of Kentucky, chairman; Thomas Folds, Northwestern University, and G. B. Smith, Kansas City Art Institute.

Participants on Panel 3, "Technical Processes in Contemporary Printmaking" were Carl Zigrosser, Philadelphia Museum of Art, chairman; Will Barnet, New York City; Adolf Dehn, New York City; Mauricio Lasansky, University of Iowa. The meeting opened with a discussion on the four great principles of reproduction. The development of these processes, the need of directing the student in the use of them, and the scope of expression afforded by these methods were discussed at length.

Panel 4, "Printmaking in Contemporary Education," was composed of Lester Longman, University of Iowa, chairman, Sue Fuller, New York City, Paul La Porte, Macalester College, Malcolm Myers, University of Minnesota (taking the place of Jakob Rosenberg, Fogg Museum) and Harry Sternberg, New York City. Mr. Longman summarized from the program notes Mr. Rosenberg's points, which dealt with the value of studying prints from the point of view of history and criticism with a

goal of "discriminating connoisseurship." Values in printmaking in education were enumerated by members of the panel. There was disagreement over whether the technique of printmaking or the conceptual idea should be taught first.

Panel 5, "Education and Training of Personnel for General Museum Work," with D. S. Defenbacher, Walker Art Center, chairman, H. Harvard Arnason, University of Minnesota, Vernon Bobbitt, Albion College, Andrew Ritchie, Museum of Modern Art, and Edgar Schenck, Albright Art Gallery participating, discussed three points. 1. What is the nature of the museums for which people are to be trained? 2. Who shall be trained? 3. How shall it be done? The purposes, activities, and meaning of the museum to society; its significance as a social institution as well as an educational institution were points of the discussion. The qualifications of museum workers were presented. It was concluded that the type of museum determines the type of training.

Other features of the conference were special luncheons and visits to exhibitions. The Conference Banquet, held Saturday night at the Hotel Nicollet, Minneapolis, terminated the three-day meeting.

The president's report, giving details of the conference, has been sent to members.

SOUTHEASTERN ART CONFERENCE

The Southeastern College Art Conference was held this Spring in Greensboro, North Carolina. There were 32 colleges and universities represented from the nine Southeastern states which make up the Conference.

The following officers were elected to serve next year: President, Edmund Yaghjian, University of South Carolina; Vice President, Ralph Wickiser, University of Louisiana; Secretary-Treasurer, Dawn S. Kennedy, Alabama College. The retiring officers were: President, Gregory Ivy, Woman's College of the

University of North Carolina; Vice President, Mr. Jaghjian, and Secretary-Treasurer, Miss Kennedy.

The 1951 meeting will be held at the University of Florida in Gainesville.

AUTOMOBILE DESIGN SYMPOSIUM

The Department of Architecture and Design of the Museum of Modern Art presented a symposium on "The Esthetics of Automobile Design" April 12, 1950. Philip C. Johnson, Director of the Department acted as moderator. Speakers included J. M. Crawford, Vice President, General Motors Corporation; Wilder Hobson, car owner and licensed driver; Raymond Loewry, design consultant for the post-war Studebaker; George Nelson, architect and industrial designer; and D. Cameron Peck, President of Antique Automobile Club of America and President of Sports Car Club of America.

ART EDUCATION CONFERENCE

The 8th Annual Conference of the Committee on Art Education was held at the Museum of Modern Art in New York on March 24, 25 and 26.

Irwin Edman, author and scholar, spoke on "Art as Education." Iris Barry, Director of the Museum of Modern Art Film Library spoke on "What Makes a Good Film?", and as part of this program the Battle Sequence from "The Birth of a Nation," the 1917 Chaplin film "Easy Street," and a documentary made in 1945, "Window Cleaners," were shown.

A panel discussion for parents on "Your Child and Art" was led by Edith L. Mitchell, Delaware State Director of Art Education. "What Should the Amateur Expect from Painting?" was discussed by Bernard Pfriem, painter and teacher. "Exploring Your Creative Ability," a discussion of how beginners can find their own interests in art, was led by Sam G. Weiner.

Particular emphasis was placed on

films with an entire session devoted to showing experimental films made by students and teachers. In addition, members visited several New York artists' studios and saw demonstrations of pottery making by Fred Farr, woodcarving by Chain Gross, I. Rice Pereira making an abstraction, textile printing by Ruth Reeves and creative sculpture by William Zorach.

A workshop on Mobiles in Plastic was conducted by Toni Hughes, artist and display designer. Harry Sternberg, artist and teacher, conducted a workshop in Silk Screen Printing for posters, sign making and textiles.

"The Relationship between the Arts in Our Time" was the subject of a discussion led by Rene d'Harnoncourt, Director of the Museum of Modern Art. Participants were Theodore Greene, Professor of Philosophy, Yale University, Horst W. Janson of New York University, Jacques Lipchitz, sculptor, and George Nelson, industrial designer and architect.

Other conference sessions were devoted to various aspects of art education including visual aids, the relationship between college and high school classes and what kind of teachers children like.

SYMPOSIUM AT SWEET BRIAR

Sweet Briar College held a four-day symposium on the arts, March 9-12. The program included lectures and presentations in the fields of music, poetry, painting, dance and drama.

Philip Rhys Adams, Director of the Cincinnati Art Museum, opened the Saturday morning program with a talk on "The Nature of Style." A show of modern paintings was assembled for the occasion.

THE SARASOTA SEMINAR

The third annual Seminar on the History of Art, sponsored jointly by Florida State University and the John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art, was held in Sarasota, April 3-15, 1950. Art

historians participating included Professors Agnes Rindge Claflin, Vassar; Bertha Wiles, Chicago; John McAndrew, Wellesley; Adolph Karl, Florida; A. Everett Austin, Ringling Museum; David Wilkie, Florida; and Laurence Schmeckebier, Cleveland Institute of Art. The program covered the entire Baroque Style and was chairmanned jointly by Mr. Austin and Professor Beatrice Williams, Head of the Art Department at Florida State University.

CURRENT NEWS REGARDING THE FULBRIGHT PROGRAM

FIVE NEW COUNTRIES EXPECTED TO INITIATE FULBRIGHT PROGRAMS IN THE NEAR FUTURE

It is expected that Fulbright programs of international educational exchange will be initiated in the near future with Australia, Egypt, Iran, Turkey, and India since an agreement has been signed recently with each of these countries. Any person wishing to apply for an award as advanced research scholar or visiting lecturer in any one of these countries is encouraged to write the Conference Board Committee at this time. An application form and necessary information will be sent to interested individuals by the Conference Board Committee as each program is inaugurated.

INVITATIONS TO FOREIGN LECTURERS ENCOURAGED

University and college administrators and heads of departments may be interested to know that there may still be time to work out arrangements under the Fulbright program for foreign lecturers to teach in their respective institutions during the academic year 1950-51. Since Fulbright awards to foreign nationals are made in the currency of their own country and cover only the cost of travel to and from the United States, it is necessary for them to secure dollar support from other

sources for living expenses and travel within the U.S. Invitations to teach in universities and colleges will enable more scholars in Fulbright countries to apply for an award, thereby increasing the benefits of the program to the foreign countries and also enriching the academic life of this country.

Invitations to foreign scholars may be issued in either of two ways. An American university or college may invite a particular professor or a research scholar known to the institution to serve on its staff. In this case the institution is expected to advise the foreign scholar to file an application for a travel grant with the U.S. Educational Commission which administers the program in his own country. Upon the recommendation of the U.S. Educational Commission, the application is then forwarded through the Department of State to the Board of Foreign Scholarship for final action. Or a university or college may utilize the facilities of the Fulbright program to find a qualified person to fill a particular opening. Inquiries regarding the procedure to be followed in this latter instance should be addressed to the Conference Board Committee.

APPLICATION FORM AND PROGRAMS FOR 1951-52 WILL BE AVAILABLE IN LATE SUMMER

Application for an award in the United Kingdom and British Colonial Dependencies, Belgium and Luxembourg, France, Greece, Italy, The Netherlands, Burma, The Philippines, New Zealand, and Norway for the academic year 1951-52 may be made in the late summer or early autumn when the programs for that year are available. At that time application forms and information regarding the appropriate program will be sent to all individuals who have expressed an interest in making application for an award in one or more of the foregoing countries. It is too late to apply for an award in these countries for the academic year 1950-51.

ANNOUNCEMENT OF AWARDS FOR 1950-51

This announcement will be made by the Department of State on behalf of the Board of Foreign Scholarships in April or May. More than 1500 applications were received this year for approximately 250 openings for professors and advanced research scholars. This almost doubles the number of applications made last year.

FOR ADDITIONAL INFORMATION regarding awards to visiting lecturers and advanced research scholars, inquiries should be addressed to the Executive Secretary, Committee on International Exchange of Persons, Conference Board of Associated Research Councils, 2101 Constitution Avenue, Washington 25, D.C.

RECIPIENTS OF AWARDS TO LECTURERS AND RESEARCH SCHOLARS IN THE FIELDS OF ARCHITECTURE, AND ART FOR THE ACADEMIC YEAR 1949-50

Dr. Marian Elizabeth Blake, research specialist, for research in Roman architecture at the American Academy in Rome. At the time the award was granted, Dr. Blake was a resident of Rome. Her permanent address is Bradford, Connecticut.

Dr. Otto J. Brendel, Indiana University, as a research scholar in classical archaeology at the American Academy in Rome. He will prepare a volume on Roman Art, scheduled for publication as part of a complete History of Art.

Dr. Kenneth J. Conant, Harvard University, to undertake research in archaeology at the University of Paris. Dr. Conant served as an exchange professor at the Sorbonne in 1935, at the National University of Mexico in 1942, and at the University of Buenos Aires in 1947.

Mr. Joseph Hirsch, professional artist, as research scholar in art at the University of Paris. He will study the history and development of French art in Paris.

Dr. Emil Kaufman, research specialist, to do research in the field of art history at the University of Florence. Dr. Kaufman's permanent home is in New York City.

Dr. Agnes Mongan, Curator of Drawings at the Fogg Museum of Art, for research in art at the American Academy at Rome.

Dr. Thomas Munro, Western Reserve University and the Cleveland Museum of Art, to serve as visiting lecturer in aesthetics and the philosophy of art at the Sorbonne in Paris.

AFA ADVISORY COMMITTEE FOR UNESCO

Dr. Grace L. McCann Morley, director of the San Francisco Museum of Art, will serve as chairman of a special advisory committee of the American Federation of Arts for the UNESCO program. Other members are Henry R. Hope, Indiana University, representing art teaching, art scholarship, art research, publications and criticism; William M. Milliken, Cleveland Museum of Art, representing art museums, their tradition, art of today, museum education and work with local artists; and Hudson D. Walker, of New York, executive director of Artists Equity Association, representing artists and contemporary organizations.

The American Federation of Arts is represented on the U. S. National Commission of UNESCO by its president, Mr. L. M. C. Smith, and an important function of this Committee is to serve in a technical advisory capacity to him. The committee will consider how the AFA can implement the UNESCO program and carry out approved programs in the United States directly or through related agencies in the art field.

At its first meeting, the committee recommended the exchange of persons in the art field. It recommended circulating exhibitions from abroad. It considered a proposal for an international artists' congress to examine the freedom and rights of artists on a re-

gional, national and international basis. The Committee offered support for UNESCO publications in art and related fields, such as reproductions, the periodical *Museum* and other proposed publications.

ART NEWS FROM COURRIER DE FRANCE

The Encyclopédie Photographique de l'Art (Editions Tel., Paris) has published *Le Musée du Caire*, an album of 223 photographs of ancient Egyptian Art by André Vigneau.

One of the oldest sections of Paris will soon have studios and living quarters for 2000 French and foreign artists in a "Cité des Arts" similar to the Left-Bank Cité Universitaire. The old Hôtel d'Aumont, built by Le Vau and altered by Mansart, will be restored by architect Michel Roux-Spitz to serve as the Cité's center with a restaurant, lecture rooms and an entrance on the Seine's bank. Painters will be assigned studios with northern exposure, sculptors studios on the ground floor, and musicians sound-proof practice rooms. A bath or shower, a hot plate, a telephone and a heater will be provided with each room. Funds for the Cité des Arts will be contributed by the City of Paris, the Beaux-Arts Academy and interested foreign governments.

Using a minimum of new marble, the French Historical Monuments Service is "reassembling" rather than "restoring" the Romanesque cloister of Saint-Michel-de-Cuxa Abbey at the base of Mt. Canigou in the Pyrenees. Built from the ninth to the twelfth centuries, the Abbey was destroyed during the French Revolution and its stones and ornaments dispersed. More than half the capitals are displayed at The Cloisters in New York. The Perpignan Museum and Art School, the Bishop of Perpignan, the Prades municipality and private individuals have now returned enough shafts, columns, capitals and other fragments for twenty-two arches of the old cloister. Benedictine monks are once more using

the abbey and are helping to rebuild the cloister with their own hands.

Amiens will soon have the tallest building in Europe, a 24-story skyscraper more than 340 feet high. It will be called the "Tour Perret" after Auguste Perret who designed it.

Founded a few months ago, the Société des Artistes Peintres, Sculpteurs et Graveurs Professionnels is a non-political organization embracing representatives of all trends of modern art. Its recently elected executive committee is planning meetings that will put forward the point of view of the artist on the serious economic problems with which he is confronted today. Extensive government purchases of contemporary art works, health and old-age insurance for artists, and the creation of greater employment possibilities in public works projects are among the issues scheduled for early discussion.

René Huyghe, curator of paintings at the Louvre, and J. Rothenstein, director of London's Tate Gallery, are organizing a series of loan exchanges.

New French Art Books: *Habitation Moderne et Urbanisme* by André Boll (Editions Dunod, Paris) presents the author's views on modern housing and city planning. The development of commercial display art in Paris is illustrated by hundreds of photographs in *Etalages Parisiens* (Editions Arts et Métiers Graphiques, Paris). *Les Châteaux de Normandie* by Henry Soulangue-Bodin (Editions Van Oest, Paris) has illustrations of Normandy's war-battered castles.

ART NEWS FROM INDIA

(From The AIAFA NEWS, Vol. 1, No. 4, a publication of All India Association of Fine Arts)

An All India Art Conference was held last August at Calcutta by the Education Ministry of the Government of India. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad presided at the conference, and in his address he emphasized the need for taking prompt steps to "preserve, develop and enrich

the heritage of our cultural tradition before they are damaged beyond repair." As a practical outcome of the deliberations of the conference, it was decided to form a Central Advisory Board of Art to advise the Government in all matters pertaining to art, and to promote its activities in the country. This board will consist of a majority of practising artists representative of the various regional art interests in the country.

Mr. V. P. Karmarkar, Indian sculptor, is now touring the United States.

The office of the All India Association of Fine Arts is 28 Apollo St., Fort Bombay, India.

U.S. TO SEE ITALIAN DECORATIVE AND INDUSTRIAL ARTS

In cooperation with the Italian government and the E.C.A. for Italy, twelve leading art museums of the U.S. are jointly sponsoring an exhibition of contemporary Italian handicrafts and industrial design. The exhibition will open in New York at the Brooklyn Museum this coming November and then tour the sponsoring museums from coast to coast.

Following up a preliminary survey made by the Art Institute of Chicago last summer, an American jury consisting of Walter Teague, noted industrial designer, Charles Nagel, Director of the Brooklyn Museum, and Meyric R. Rogers, Curator of Decorative and Industrial Arts of the Art Institute of Chicago, has gone to Rome for a two-months' tour to select the material for the exhibition. These jurors have been joined by Ramy Alexander, Director of the Compagnia Nazionale Artigiana, who has been in general charge of arrangements in Italy.

The sponsoring Art Museums which will show the exhibition are: Baltimore Museum of Art, Albright Art Gallery, The Art Institute of Chicago, Museum of Fine Arts (Minneapolis), Brooklyn Museum, Museum of Fine Arts of Houston, Carnegie Institute, Portland (Oregon) Art Museum, Providence Museum

of Art, City Museum of San Francisco, and Toledo Museum of Art.

Arrangements are in progress to make the majority of the items to be shown in the exhibition available to the American public for order and purchase.

ITALIAN UNIVERSITY FOR FOREIGNERS

The Italian University for Foreigners, Perugia, has announced the program for its three-month summer session, beginning July 1, and its three-month fall session, beginning Oct. 1. Courses in Advanced Culture (history, literature, art, archaeology, music, philosophy and scientific thought in Italy), Etruscology, Italian Language, and History of Art and Thought are among the courses being offered. For details write to the Segreteria della Università Italiana per Stranieri, Palazzo Gallenga, Perugia, Italia.

ART PROFESSIONS IN THE UNITED STATES

Cooper Union Art School has published recently *Art Professions in the United States*, edited and compiled by Elizabeth McCausland, Royal Bailey Farnum and Dana P. Vaughn. Edwin Sharp Burdell, Director of Cooper Union Art School, wrote the Preface.

In the section on "Art Education in 80 Art Schools," Mr. Vaughan presents data from 80 art schools, standards and practice in 80 art schools, data for the Cooper Union Art School. Miss McCausland writes about "Experience of Cooper Union Alumni," including vital statistics, art training, professional achievements, women as professional, Cooper Union Alumni in World War II, alumni evaluation of their art training and consensus of alumni. Mr. Farnum discusses "Professional Opportunities in Art," architecture, the fine arts, illustration, art director's work, graphic arts, design, textiles, merchandis-

ing, display, the manufacturer, and teaching.

The price is \$1.00.

COMPETITIONS

The American Institute of Graphic Arts has announced a Young Designers Exhibition program. A projected series of exhibitions based on competitive selection in three different fields, will initiate the program: Young Book Designers, Young Designers of Commercial Printing, and Young Magazine Designers. The opening competition and exhibition of Young Book Designers will be held in November 1950. For information and entry form, write the American Institute of Graphic Arts, 115 East 40th Street, New York 16, N.Y.

California artists have been invited to compete in the \$10,000 art show at the California State Fair. Top prize for oils again will be \$1,000 for the conservative which judges rate best and \$1,000 for the best modern oil, with second and third awards of \$500 and \$250 in each class. First award for water colors and for sculpture is \$500. The State Fair contest for college and university students again will offer a \$750 scholarship for the first prize winner whom judges believe shows the greatest promise. Premium books containing all rules of entry, list of awards and other information will be available about May 1 at the State Fair, P.O. Box 2036, Sacramento.

The Committee on the Art of Democratic Living has announced a plan for the improvement of human relations through the media of painting and sculpture. The Committee will award a sum of \$2,000 in rental fees for the exhibition of 20 selected contemporary paintings and pieces of sculpture which best depict the theme of the need for the harmonious living together of diverse groups. One hundred dollars is to be awarded for each selected work. These works of art will be judged by the Na-

tional Exhibition Committee of the American Federation of Arts and will be exhibited at leading museums and art galleries in the principal cities throughout the United States as a traveling show sponsored by the American Federation of Arts. Painting and sculpture, to be eligible, must be exhibited in recognized New York City art galleries and museums during the year 1950. The artist is asked to submit a photograph of his work to the Committee by December 15, 1950, and announcement of the awards will be made in January 1951. For further information write Mrs. Fred Guinzburg, Chairman, Committee on the Art of Democratic Living, 25 West 32nd Street, New York 1, New York.

The American Craftsmen's Educational Council Inc., have announced their first annual competitive exhibition, "Young Americans," open to all craftsmen under 30, to be held in their gallery at America House, from June 8 to September 8, 1950. For further information and application blanks, apply to The American Craftsmen's Educational Council, 32 East 52nd Street, New York.

The 7th annual exhibit of the Pacific North West will be held in the Civic Auditorium, Spokane, Washington in June. Entry cards and works are due prior to June 5, 1950. Past and present residents of Washington, Idaho, Montana, Wyoming and Oregon are eligible. For prospectus write Mrs. H. F. Wilkening, South 155 Oak Street, Spokane 9, Washington.

SCHOLARSHIPS

The Cranbrook Academy of Art offers a limited number of scholarships for advanced work in architecture, painting, sculpture, design, ceramics, weaving, metalsmithing. For catalog, application forms and further information, address Secretary, Cranbrook Academy of Art, Bloomfield Hills, Michigan.

LIBRARY OF CERAMICS

The Franciscan Library of Ceramics, just recently opened to the public at 45 East 51st Street, is planned for the use of writers, editors, students, designers, collectors and others interested in ceramics and related subjects. The Library is sponsored by Gladding, McBean and Company, manufacturers of Franciscan dinnerware. It is open for reference 5 days a week, except holidays, by appointment only. For complete information write Mrs. Helen Sprackling, Director of the Library.

VISUAL AIDS

Franco-American Audio-Visual Distribution Center, Inc., 934 Fifth Avenue, New York 21, has prepared a new catalogue of audio-visual material for purchase or loan which will be sent on request.

The Stanley Bowmar Co., 513 West 166th St., New York 32, will send upon request their new catalogue "Aids to Visual Education."

FRANK VON DER LANCKEN (1872-1950)

Frank von der Lancken, prominent Tulsa artist, died Jan. 22, 1950 at the age of 78.

A native of Brooklyn, N.Y., Mr. von der Lancken was educated in private schools before studying art at the Pratt Institute. He later studied at the Julian Academy and the Carlrossi school in Paris and at the Arts Students League in New York.

In 1903, Mr. von der Lancken established a studio at New Milford, Conn., with Willard Paddock and Paul Daugherty. He taught painting at Pratt Institute, the University of Rochester and the University of Tulsa downtown college (1935-1945). He also taught at Philbrook Art Museum from the time painting classes were started there until four years ago.

He was director of the school of fine and applied arts at Mechanics Institute,

Rochester, from 1915 to 1924 and also was director of the School of Arts and Crafts, Chautauqua, N.Y.

Mr. von der Lancken was a member of the Art Students League and Salmagundi Club, New York, Rochester Art League and Rochester Art Club, Philbrook Art Association, Tulsa Art Association, Painters and Printmakers Guild, and Artists Equity.

Survivors include his widow, Giulia; two sons, Carl of Chicago and Julian of New York City, and four grandchildren.

DIAMOND JUBILEE FOR PHILADELPHIA MUSEUM

In celebration of its 75th anniversary, the Philadelphia Museum of Art is assembling an exhibition of Masterpieces of Painting in America, which will be shown from Nov. 3, 1950 to Feb. 11, 1951. An exhibition of Masterpieces of Drawing will run concurrently with the show of paintings.

Recent gifts to the Diamond Jubilee Collection being assembled include a bronze cast of the *Sailor with Guitar* by Jacques Lipschitz and *Stone Head* by Amadeo Modigliani.

Philadelphia Museum Bulletin, Vol. XLV, No. 224, Winter 1950, is devoted to the jubilee occasion.

TEACHERS RESIDENCE EXCHANGE

Arrange to enjoy a rent-free vacation in a home anywhere in the United States through exchange homes for the summer. For free booklet and application for listing, write Teachers Residence Exchange, Dept. M, 100 West 42nd St., New York 18, N.Y.

SPECIAL CALENDAR

An international calendar of special art exhibitions on view this summer in Canada, Latin America and Europe, between May 1 and September 30, has been prepared by the *Magazine of Art*, monthly publication of The American Federation of Arts. Copies may be obtained on request by sending a

stamped, self-addressed envelope to the *Magazine of Art*, 22 East 60th Street, New York 22, N.Y.

MAGAZINE OF ART AWARDS

The *Magazine of Art* has announced the results of its first Essay Award contest for articles by writers under 35 years of age on any aspect of American painting or sculpture of the past quarter century. First prize of \$150 was awarded to Carol Seeley of Temple, N.H., for an article "On the Nature of Abstract Painting in America," and second prize of \$100 was won by Louis Finkelstein of New York for his essay "Marin and De Kooning." Honorable mentions were awarded to Libby Tannenbaum of New York for "Notes at Mid Century" and to Mitzi Solomon Cunliffe of Manchester, England, for "Earth and Tools Rediscovered: An Affirmation." Mrs. Seeley's article is included in the May issue of the *Magazine of Art* and the other three will appear in the near future.

More than thirty entries sent in from all over the country were judged anonymously by Alfred H. Barr, Jr., Director of Museum Collections, Museum of Modern Art; Lloyd Goodrich, Associate Director, Whitney Museum of American Art; Henry R. Hope, Jr., Chairman, Department of Art, Indiana University and President of the College Art Association of America; and Robert Goldwater, Associate Professor, Department of Art, Queens College, and Editor of the *Magazine of Art*. The *Magazine of Art* plans to continue its Awards annually, varying the subjects of the essays to be submitted; details of next year's Awards will be announced in the issue of October, 1950.

The University of Mississippi,
University, Mississippi
May 26, 1950

Dear Friend:

A group of students, colleagues and friends of Dr. David M. Robinson of the

Johns Hopkins University and the University of Mississippi, are preparing a volume of studies in his honor to be published on his 70th birthday. To this volume studies have been contributed not only by American scholars but by the leading archaeologists and classicists of the world. More than 240 collaborators are participating in the project, and the articles to be included in the volume will be in English, French, German and Italian. They cover all fields of prehistoric, classical and even Byzantine archaeology and art, literature, history, philology, philosophy, numismatics and arts. The titles and the names of the collaborators will be furnished on request.

According to the estimates obtained from various presses, the volumes will cost about \$15,000 each. We hope that subscriptions and pre-publication orders and grants will provide \$5,000 toward the publication. We further hope that friends and admirers of Dr. Robinson will want to contribute sums ranging from \$5 to \$1,000 that will help cover the deficit of at least \$10,000 which we are facing today. Without their contribution the publication will prove impossible. Three have already contributed more than \$500 apiece, and one \$1,000. The more money we receive the more articles we can publish, and especially those of European scholars who have contributed important articles of research but cannot, under present conditions, make any financial contribution. We shall be able to publish two large volumes if there are sufficient funds. Those who subscribe now may have the volumes for \$20 each. The sale price will probably have to be increased after publication. A list of the contributors will be published in the volume.

We are appealing to you to be one of those donors whose generosity will make possible the publication of the volumes that will honor not only one of our great living classical scholars and archaeologists, but also American scholarship. We hope that we shall have the

pleasure of adding your name to the list of our donors. Please make your check payable to the Robinson Book Fund and sent it to Professor William H. Willis, University of Mississippi, University, Miss., or Professor George E. Mylonas,

chairman of the committee, Washington University, St. Louis, Missouri.

Yours sincerely,
William H. Willis
(for the committee)

letters to the editor

SIR:

Mr. Rhys Carpenter's article, *Modern Art and the Philosopher*, though given over mainly to establishing a concept of "time of troubles" as the key to understanding the present phase of western painting, succeeds rather in suggesting the applicability of such a concept to the contemporary theory and criticism of art.

Out of what appears to be some kind of faith in a Toynbee-Wölfflin cyclic progression-regression theory of the history of art, Mr. Carpenter makes a story that would prove the bootlessness of what we have come to recognize as the dominant character and direction of contemporary art. Exploiting what he terms "a very personal approach" he wisely admits that as a result of professional archaeological preoccupations "I suffer from an irremediable bias of perspective on almost all aesthetic problems, a sort of gigantic parallax rather than astigmatism, which makes it impossible for me to see the present except as a momentary point of passage on a line extending out of the remotest past into an immediate future." The brand of confusion which this unilinear concept of history can bring about is demonstrated throughout the article which purports to clear the ground for rescuing art from its "aberrations" by means of muzzling artists, and by giving special sanctions to aestheticians, critics, and historians of art.

Having decided at the outset upon the nature of the career of all successful

painting—"the visual arts must imitate natural forms and appearances," he says, and "the acquisition of the technique of adequate imitation of nature has been the major compelling force on long generations of artists in all civilizations which have made much progress with art"—he then worries himself with trying to fit twentieth-century Western painting "into the perspective of its own previous career," because for him "it is intelligible only when it is fitted without discontinuity into the perspective." And of course Mr. Carpenter is bothered greatly when, face to face with contemporary painting, he finds that it just will not fall nicely into the unilinear fable that he has made of its history. What is more, he cannot get very far with forcing it into his restricted concept of a continuum. Then he admits quite openly that something happened in the late nineteenth century (he might have mentioned Cézanne) and continues in some way into the present, and that this something does disrupt his *a priori* continuum. To him this seems to indicate that the new art, rather than the old theory must be discarded. By a wondrous play of words and theory he recognizes a place for Surrealist art in his one-track system, but not finding or being able to make places for all the other commanding enterprises of contemporary art, he can only decide that they are in error and confusion.

Then, going further, he pronounces that all this error and confusion is due to the complete freedom of the contemporary artist, that because he is free, and ignorant of what to do with this freedom, the artist is "in dire need of help in finding some compensating restraint to direct his behavior." It is Mr. Carpenter's belief that in this crisis professional aestheticians should take the artist by the hand and lead him to a knowledge of what to do with his freedom. "It is an aesthetic question," he

declares, "that belongs to the aestheticians."

But the way Mr. Carpenter would lead the artist is apparently down the one-way street *back* to his "adequate imitation of natural forms and appearances." He offers no more than this. Without attempting to clarify what he means by *adequate* imitation, without any show of recognition that the history of art is a history rather of the *quest* for the ever-varying nature of reality, Mr. Carpenter flatly states that "the acquisition of a technique of imitative realism has been the dominant formative trend of Graeco-Roman, of Chinese, and of Western painting," and that this "ought not to be denied by anyone, because it is capable of as precise, as full, and as material proof as anything in natural history or science," so that "to deny it is simply to say that something is not so, which can be shown and proved to be true." It is strange that an historical point of view, however it may encourage the invention of a simplified description of cultural continuity, should suggest for art a conscious flight into tradition. The testimony of history should itself show that this would be wrong, even were it at all possible. Art neither goes backward, nor stands still. Nor are the artists so docile and incapable as Mr. Carpenter would have us believe. Artists have always been "free," inasmuch as they have been artists. And they have generally known what to do with their freedom: to probe further the mystery of human experience in all its phases and intensities, and to present ever-new objects of art embodying the special qualities of this quest. It is hard to believe that there is any artist, living or dead, who would not resent Mr. Carpenter's dictum that for such a quest the artists "have neither training nor aptitude." It seems a peculiar understanding of the past which assumes that only contemporary artists are concerned with "mere" experiment, trial-and-error, and a pushing out against the established canons.

One might indeed offer Mr. Carpenter as an alternate description of the continuity of Western painting just this tradition of experiment, of continuing, consecrated seeking and trying, of the re-forming, and the redefining of art.

I do not, however, wish to argue with Mr. Carpenter about whether or not he can prove this or that within the framework of his own dialectic, but rather to point out that his article is an excellent example of the kind of writing about art we are served by specialists who, faced with the multiplicity of forms which contemporary art assumes, deny the validity of the individual's own unaffected surrender to aesthetic impressions, and the subsequent contemplation of them, in favor of demonstrating some theory of "style," of tendency, or some other dubious interpretation of unilinear development. Once the specialists, the "trained thinkers in art," as Mr. Carpenter calls them, fall victims to their own secondary statements concerning the primary objects—the art itself—they will indeed believe that they must help the "enthusiastic but ignorant" public to think, and "prevent it from being led by a nose that is too long even to be classed as a proboscis." Then they can say with scholarly impunity that the artist is lost; they can blame and score him for the "time of troubles," and advise him to embrace their brand of "honesty first, and only then understanding will follow." They can look back to the imaginary good "old days when the artist knew where he was going," and "scholars and aestheticians danced a sort of distant attendance on him." But here Mr. Carpenter's logic seems clouded: if the role of the philosopher in the Golden Age was to interpret and generalize from the objects of art presented him by the artist, why should we assume that the opposite relationship is now a good thing? The notion that anyone but the artist knows what he will, or must, do, that anything but the pre-

sented work of art itself will indicate the path art is taking, is the most astonishing of Mr. Carpenter's suggestions.

It is perhaps too easy to forget that art does not exist as a pretext for something else; that the artist is not some kind of unknowing freak to be lionized in the reception hall and then put away like an umbrella in the umbrella stand while the unblessed spokesmen for art take over in the drawing-room. There is indeed a danger of mistaking the spokesman for the artist, of allowing art to be considered a pretext for the illustration of theory. If one is not clear about the relationship of these roles, there is a

danger, in its full philosophical implication, of supposing that the specialist's theory of history or criticism is law, to which the artist should be made to conform. It is heartening to me, in the face of these confusions, to feel rather certain that for all the full-blown talk of "trained thinkers in art," artists will continue to be much more concerned with the creation of art. And if the trained thinker finds it impossible to cope with the art created around him, he, too, is free to create his own, in his own image.

Sincerely yours,
DONALD L. WEISMANN
Wayne University

book reviews

JOHN REWALD, *Paul Cézanne: A Biography*, xvii + 231 p., 117 pl. (4 in color), 21 text ill., New York: Simon and Schuster, 1948. \$5.00

For those in search of adequate references for courses in modern art or in area studies including the arts, publication of Rewald's *The History of Impressionism* was a capital event (reviewed, *C. A. J.*, Vol. VII, No. 2, Winter, 1947-48, pp. 146-47). So likewise, undoubtedly, will be the long-awaited publication by the same author, *The History of Post-Impressionism*. Until this sequel is completed, one might expect pressure of work to prevent the writer from undertaking anything else, however closely associated with his project at hand.

Surprising, therefore, has been the appearance in the interim of a biography by Rewald presenting the foremost Post-Impressionist. This departure from a logical schedule is to be accounted for by the fact that the bulk of the study was already concluded in the form of a doctoral dissertation for the Sorbonne, *Cézanne et Zola* (Paris: Sedrowski, 1936), and a later revised and enlarged edition, *Cézanne: Sa Vie—Son Oeuvre: Son Amitié Pour Zola* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1939). It seemed necessary only to have the latter work translated into English, to delete from it passages on Zola which did not seem to contribute directly to the biographical account, and to incorporate new discoveries bearing on the subject.

The result of this procedure is a useful addition to our shelf of references on Cézanne. The book is attractively

printed. It abounds in illustrations which, though small, are superior to those in the French editions and partly new in subject. Some represent paintings that are largely unknown to the American public; others, photographs of landscapes taken from the very spots where Cézanne had set his easel (interesting for comparison with the actual paintings), photographs of the various houses in which the artist lived, of relatives and friends, and of kindred items. Although the black and white illustrations have little organic connection with the text, and the color reproductions practically none, they provide a parallel body of material intensely interesting in itself.

The biography traces a roughly chronological line of development through twenty-four chapters, two less than the second French edition contains. A biographical outline, carefully detailed year by year, is a welcome addition, but the selective bibliography in alphabetical arrangement is a poor replacement of the comprehensive chronological bibliography offered by the earlier work. In both editions the index is well edited.

The translation of such parts of the original text as are included is aptly done. There is little fault to find with it. Certain quoted profanities and vulgarities might better have been left in the original French, even as *nom de Dieu* was left (pp. 4, 18, 118, etc.). Following the mention of several individuals whom Cézanne found in Paris (p. 93), *ce dernier* in the second French edition (p. 195) should have been rendered as "the last-mentioned" instead of as "the latter."

Occasionally a condensation of an interjection in the English edition has been rendered in an unnecessarily complicated and confusing form. Witness, for example, that on page 103: "He commissioned him to paint a portrait of Madame Chocquet, and Renoir soon took him to a modest paint dealer, *père*

Tanguy, whom Pissarro had recommended to Cézanne and who had agreed to provide Cézanne with paints and canvases, taking some paintings in exchange." If the occasion for a reprinting arises, certain typographical errors should be corrected: p. 23, line 20, read "sketched" for "sektched"; p. 176, line 11, read "beginning" for "begining"; p. 200, line 21, read "led" for "lead."

By comparing the present work with its French precursor of 1939, one notes with satisfaction how much the later text has benefited by extracts from newly discovered documents. Some of these are derived from the *Paul Cézanne Letters* which Rewald himself edited (London: Bruno Cassirer, 1941), and from the article by Alfred H. Barr, Jr., and Margaret Scolari, "Cézanne in the Letters of Marion to Morstatt, 1865-1868," *Magazine of Art*, February, April, May, 1938. Other extracts originate in the notes made by Zola for his projected novels, notes at the Bibliothèque Nationale recently discovered to be rich in allusions to Cézanne. Such material has been introduced into a text already profiting by the conscientious labors of its author, who consulted not only every available document, whether in the form of a letter, a passage in a novel by Zola, or an article of contemporary criticism, but every friend and immediate relative of the painter who still happened to be living at the time the initial researches were being pursued.

It was the author's avowed intention to let the documents speak for themselves, and that he has done with considerable effectiveness. Although it has meant some blurring of focus and interruption of text, the employment of the method has succeeded in evoking something of Cézanne's personality and the character of his art. One regrets only that the translation of the French edition of 1939 was not given, along with the pertinent additions, in its entirety.

One misses from the newest publica-

tion certain directly pertinent passages contained in its French predecessor of 1939: those dealing, for example, with Cézanne's earliest attempts at drawing and painting (English edition, p. 6; second French edition, pp. 26-27) and at poetry (French edition, pp. 32, 36, 37, 59, etc.). One misses the text of the review for *Charivari*, April 25, 1874, written by Louis Leroy on the First Impressionist Exhibition. The review is mentioned in the English edition (pp. 101-02) as marking the first use of the term "Impressionism," but it is given at length in the French edition of 1939 (pp. 209-15), with a passage devoted to ridicule of Cézanne's *Modern Olympia* that has specific application. One misses the quotation from Oscar Wilde about a portrait representing the artist rather than the sitter (p. 224); it deserves in both editions some development apropos of Cézanne's portraits.

Although the author advances the average reader's supposed dislike for footnotes as reason for their almost complete suppression in the English edition (only eight remain, as compared with over a hundred in the French edition of 1939), one misses the full documentation that footnotes can provide. For a study comprising as this one does the assemblage of historical evidence, footnotes would seem to be especially desirable. Their place is properly recognized in the French publications, and the consequence is a richer and a more readable text than the English edition possesses.

The abridgement of the text in translation is thus seen to be not altogether happy. Better than a complete translation, however, might have been a re-writing of the biography with a view to greater emphasis on the actual paintings of Cézanne. The foregoing studies of the written documents and the witness accounts would have made a sound basis from which to proceed. But such documents in the new biography would have assumed a role subordinate to the artist's

creations—documents which, in the last analysis, are truly primary.

It is true that Rewald has given some attention to the paintings. He has characterized them in a general way and indicated something of the way in which they reveal the course of Cézanne's development. Much of such characterization is, on the other hand, quotation or paraphrase of what others, like Roger Fry, have said about this art, and not analysis based on direct observation. The author gives the year of execution for each of the paintings illustrated, but he omits its dimensions and lists it when rendered in oil simply as "painting," in false contradistinction to "watercolor" when rendered in that medium. It is not enough merely to refer the reader for such data to Lionello Venturi's catalogue in the two-volume work, *Cézanne: Son Art, Son Oeuvre* (Paris: Paul Rosenberg, 1936), the title of which Rewald, by the way, twice cites incorrectly (footnote, p. ix, and p. xvii).

The weakness in the author's relative indifference to the works of art themselves becomes especially obvious at the point (pp. 158-61) where he quotes from Zola's criticism of the annual Salon, written for *Le Figaro*, May 2, 1896. He publishes this passage only to disparage it as evidence of Zola's alleged uncertainty and lack of understanding. He gives as specific reason for his deprecation Zola's speaking of Cézanne as an "abortive genius." The author cites the term, however, out of a context that ought properly to have been included with the long quotation, and then contradicts his judgment of the critic by alluding to what Zola told Gasquet only two years later about the critic's always having liked Cézanne's painting but recently having discovered how "unbelievably sincere and truthful" it was.

Had the author maintained closer touch with the paintings of Cézanne and his contemporaries, had he defined the successive time-modes through which Cé-

zanne passed during the course of his career, had he recognized the way in which Cézanne came into the full maturity of his powers only at a time in which the creative force of Impressionism was ebbing away, he would have found in Zola's review, despite the novelist's derogatory remark about Cézanne, one of the most penetrating criticisms ever written.

By the year 1896 Impressionism was losing the vitality it had enjoyed back in the eighteen-seventies. Even as it yielded to what we now call Post-Impressionism in ability to express the living experience of the moment, Impressionism gained favor, like every passing movement before it, by virtue of its growing familiarity, and lent itself to reduction by popularizers into formulas for producing readily salable pictures. No truer words were ever uttered than those of Zola in protest against the process of academicizing to which he saw Impressionism being subjected in the Salon of 1896. We are grateful to the author of the new biography of Cézanne for giving us in translation such lines as the following from Zola's famous review (pp. 160-61):

"Never have I been more aware of the danger of formulas, the pitiful end of schools when the founders have done their work and the masters have gone. Every moment becomes exaggerated, becomes a mere process and a lie as soon as it is taken up by fashion. There is no truth which is good in the beginning, for which theoretically one would shed one's blood, which does not become, through imitation, the worst of errors, the tare which must be ruthlessly mowed down. . . . We were right only because we represented enthusiasm and faith. The truth we established, however little, is accepted today. And if the road which was opened up has become trite, this is because we widened it in order that the art of a period might pass over it."

WALLACE S. BALDINGER
University of Oregon

JAMES MARSTON FITCH, *American Building*, 362 p., 177 ill., Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1948. \$5.00.

JOHN A. KOUWENHOVEN, *Made in America*, 303 p., 16 pl., 19 fig., New York: Doubleday and Company, 1948. \$5.00.

Some books merit attention because of the information they contain, some on account of the angle of perspective from which the field is seen, and some, as in the present case, for both reasons. Fitch in *American Building* devotes the first half of his volume to a rapid survey of building (not architecture) from the angle of technological expression. While other sociological phases are seen at the edges of consciousness, the eye is focussed on those elements which in a new land provided health and convenience to the newcomer. The new ways of bridging space in factories, the new types of plan shown in hotels and public buildings, the new means of lighting and heating are stressed. Horatio Greenough, who saw beauty in clipper ships and trotting horses analogous to that of Greek art, is named a prophet, Paxton and Roebing and Eiffel, pioneers, abroad and at home, and Richardson and Sullivan and Wright, pathfinders toward mature expression of the builder's search for a healthful environment.

The second half of the book, where information as well as illustration of the point of view presented are provided, is an exciting survey of this search for healthful environments. Steel and concrete and wood are cited as offering incredibly high strength-weight ratios. Plasticity has become a fact rather than a metaphor. Brick and stone are shown as being relegated to surface material, in competition with glass and plastics, in a building era where skeleton and skin are the appropriate words for a discussion of architectural form. The new types of heating and lighting and ventilating are considered, with maximum

health as the objective. Efficiency and integration, flexibility, and mechanization are shown as the means being employed. In fact, the speed set is so great that only when a concluding chapter on Democratic Aesthetic is reached is the reader able to gasp, "Yes, yes, but . . . Man needs more than machinery to provide him health. Health is more than physical well-being. Thanks for the joy-ride, Mr. Fitch."

Kouwenhoven uses all the arts, painting, music, literature, as well as architecture and the various crafts, to convince the reader that the "vernacular" and the "cultivated" points of view have been in continuous tension throughout American history. With a bewildering range of examples and quotations he all but persuades one that the wave of the future is carrying us to the shores of a mature vernacular culture. American technology with its "ingenuity" and "boldness," adapted to individual uses by those whose skill is founded on experience, is sharply contrasted with the surface elaboration credited to the cultivated tradition. The Corliss steam engine, exhibited at the Philadelphia Centennial, is used as the frontispiece, and contemporary writers are quoted as saying that its watch spring precision was seen to best advantage when the engine was in motion, and speaking of it as suggesting Prometheus unbound. Clipper ships, flat-bottomed steam boats for inland waterways, flexible locomotives adapted to curving roadbeds, mass production with interchangeable parts, down to the scientific management of our own day, where the worker is all but mechanized, are cited as triumphs of the vernacular. The iron dome of the Capitol at Washington and the papier maché vaults of St. Patrick's Cathedral in New York illustrate the dead hand of tradition in the cultivated mode. Balloon construction, here credited to Augustine Deodat Taylor (rather than to George Washington Snow, as Giedion claims), suspension bridges, sky-scraper construc-

tion, prefabrication, used from time to time since the 1820's, and Shaker construction are further aptly cited instances.

In literature, diaries, almanacs, and manuals, on down to such personalized columns as "My Day," are mentioned as illustrating the vernacular and said to be more significant than the novels and other literary forms which aped the cultivated forms of western Europe, at their best, American only in subject-matter. Melville, Whitman, Poe, and Emerson all sought new forms whereby new content could be packaged, we are told. Allegory, factual data, short story forms, and essays which still carried the oral character of their origin were used originally in the several cases.

In painting, Eakins and Homer can be put without too much cramping into the vernacular frame of reference, but the reader may grow restless when Ryder is briefly referred to as "isolated," because he does not quite fit. And while folk art has been wisely jettisoned early in the discussion as a transplanted phase of the cultivated, when popular art is accepted in the vernacular category, and the interior decoration of the Mississippi steamboat is given restrained praise, the reader may turn to the pause which refreshes.

Yet, on turning back to this entertaining discussion, one may agree that the American *loves* machinery, business, and industry; that the new flexibility in factory lay-outs, the new machine forms which perform functions rather than create particular products, and the research corporations which seek to make change profitable are all tobogganing along vernacular speedways. The Bronx-Whitestone Bridge, Hersey's account of the destruction of Hiroshima, movies, comic strips, and jazz, an art where performer takes precedence over the composer, are all apt citations of vernacular triumphs over the cultivated tradition. And the author is as clever as ever when he quotes Emerson as calling for a cul-

ture where "all the uniters are isolated"—a vivid description of jazz.

But, the human being needs memory as a base of creative operations, his own and that of his people. He needs to dream and to aspire. Distinctively, through art, both vernacular and cultivated, these essential drives can be made use of. The goal is not merely a mechanical Paradise. If the vernacular course of American art is indeed ultimately to be a mechanized world, the atom bomb may have lost some of its terror.

Both of these books are intelligent and challenging. They deserve wide discussion.

WILLIAM SENER RUSK
Wells College

ELIEL SAARINEN, *Search for Form: A Fundamental Approach to Art*, xxi + 354 p., 16 pl., New York: Reinhold Publishing Corporation, 1948. \$4.50.

Eliel Saarinen, the sage of Bloomfield Hills, is best known for his beautiful, personal architecture, on which a monograph was published by Albert Christ-Janer in the same year that this book appeared. Since Saarinen took up residence in this country, twenty-seven years ago, hundreds of students have learned from him and thousands have been impressed by the poetic quality of his buildings. For many years he was almost alone in this country in representing to the popular mind an architect whose work was progressive but not revolutionary, modern without being impersonal. In an age which is moving on from a phase of austerity, Saarinen's influence is likely to be increasingly more important.

This is the second book (*The City* appeared in 1944) in which Saarinen seeks in inspirational terms to convey to the young person interested in creative art a message embodying the experience of a long life dedicated to creation and teaching. In this volume he is dealing

with art as a whole and establishing eternal principles. He is primarily romantic (he would say realistic) since he finds the secrets of art in the forms and order of nature. In other respects, too, he recalls Frank Lloyd Wright, also born in the last third of the nineteenth century, revolting against it in the same years, originating geometrical ornament, creating a unique, personal style of wide influence. In their way of writing they differ widely: Wright's oracular impassioned manner is in sharp contrast to the informal conversational effects of Saarinen, marred to my ear by too many "for sures" and "reallys."

Since *Search for Form* is addressed to the young artist it will not appeal to the art historian, for whom, indeed, the author has little use. He is particularly unsympathetic to what he calls the "esthetes' attitude toward "space," and evidently relishes his own "... pomological parallel—the strawberry is analogous to the Temple because of its outside seed, and the fig analogous to the Cathedral because of its inside seed." This quotation is characteristic of these pages. Nor is the author particularly concerned with the pedantries of the historian who will be irritated by such statements as that Vitruvius' symmetry was revived by Vignola instead of a century earlier by Alberti.

The point of view is often that of an elderly radical who is still fighting the battles of his fervent youth, not realizing that, due partly to his own valiant struggle, the battle has been won, and that the forces are now gathered along different fronts. This leads to extended disparagement of architectural eclecticism, the assertion that recent architecture has been largely stagnant, and minimizing the significance of the International style.

There are sections on "The Creative Instinct," "Organic Order," "Form and Vitality" "Form and Time" "Form and Truth," "Form and Function" "Form and Imagination." In some places one feels that Saarinen is struggling alone

refusing the help of others whereas he could easily have been aided by Riegl, Focillon, and Suzanne Langer. Passages such as the following obscure his intent, "Now as for the 'quality of beauty,' we have maintained that it is the all-penetrating quintessence of all of nature constituted by the universal principle of organic order." Repetitious allusions to the triad "nature," "man," and "form" are leavened by flashes such as that on the aura of rooms or the statement that education is a whole and that the creative approach to art should not be contradicted by a mimetic approach to the other subjects in the curriculum.

Saarinen's greatness can be more successfully sought in the exquisite forms he has created in both hemispheres.

CARROLL L. V. MEEKS
Yale University

WILHELM WORRINGER, *Problematik der Gegenwartskunst*, 28 p., München: R. Piper & Co., 1948.

Worringer's early books on art history and art theory, works such as *Abstraction and Empathy* and *Form Problems of the Gothic*, were intimately connected with the expressionist movement in art, and were indeed of basic importance in expressionist art theory. But already in the early twenties Worringer evinced disappointment. The artistic results of expressionism did not fulfill the great expectations with which men like Worringer had welcomed the movement. He began then to doubt the legitimacy and social utility of the figurative art in modern society.

Now, after many years of silence, Worringer publishes a new essay in which he re-emphasizes the unbridgeable gulf between modern art and the modern public. In modern art, formal means of expression have become the prime factor. Color, plane, rhythm, and line reach autonomous expression through the modern artist, who no longer represents apparent reality but creates new symbols. The creation of symbols has always been

the function of the artist, but the modern symbols are completely removed from evident reality. And like Ortega y Gasset, Worringer comes to the conclusion that "art distant from nature is art strange to the public."

The dilemma with which Worringer concerns himself is the relationship between the artist and the public. The masses who do not understand art are not content to admit their lack of understanding as they are with music. A special "eye" to understand visual form has never been recognized on the level of the "musical ear." The public claims competency to judge art because it thinks that nature itself is the standard. Therefore the public prefers art which imitates or idealizes nature.

The romantic notion of educating the masses to appreciation and understanding of art, which had so many adherents after World War I, has resulted in complete failure. There is no gradual difference between general seeing and the special gift of artistic vision, Worringer contends. It is a difference in kind. Art is not a matter of ability to which hand or eye can be trained, but rather the result of a creative will.

If the public does not have the ability or even the inclination to understand modern art, should the artist work in a more popular medium? This the great artist cannot do, because he must follow his own subjective creative urge, predetermined by the *Zeitgeist*. Then how can the artist escape from his isolation? How can he serve a socially useful function? How can he expect to be supported by the public and yet continue to work in his own socially productive manner?

Worringer formulates these problems but offers no solution for the dilemma which he sees only in the plastic arts, but which seems to confront as well the modern composer and the modern writer. At one point in his essay, Worringer suggests, with a Spenglerian pessimism, that the cause for this dilemma may be

that the figurative arts have reached a stage of exhaustion in our culture.

PETER SELZ

University of Illinois

JACQUES SCHNIER, *Sculpture in Modern America*, ix + 224 p., 139 ill., Berkeley, University of California Press, 1948. \$7.50

This book is offered as an introduction to contemporary sculpture in America; as the author declares, it is a survey. There are 139 plates and the text is designed to be subordinate to them. The book is indeed a survey, and if the reader feels a little disappointment in it, the purpose of it is to blame. It is difficult, and perhaps not particularly rewarding, to be too dispassionate about works of art. We have here unusually clear, simple exposition of all contemporary phases of sculpture, with a most praiseworthy absence of jargon or obscure terminology. We feel also the point of view of the actual practitioner—a man who is by conviction an artisan, a craftsman and an imaginative designer. Sculpture is a legitimate expression of artistic creation, and it has an ancient and honorable tradition in man's history. He takes pains to indicate that many of the aspects of contemporary art that seem strange and disturbing to the spectator—abstraction, symbolism, distortion—are among the oldest expressive devices of the artist. "Spectators unquestioningly accept in art such equally impossible images as mermaids, angels or representations of the devil with horns and a tail. These images were conceived by artists hundreds of years ago and have been handed down from generation to generation, becoming part of our artistic heritage."

Since the book is not intended to be critical, historical or analytical, one must accept the rather broad definitions of the aims of various categories in contemporary art. Perhaps such a well tempered piece is really helpful in an era of warring "isms." One gets a feeling of

justification (the chronic malaise of the twentieth century artist) without strong persuasive enthusiasm, so that reading the book and looking at the plates leaves one rather flat, indifferent to all this worthiness. But this is probably inherent in the nature of a survey and unavoidable. One feels the honesty and the breadth of sympathy of the author.

Minor points of criticism might indicate that there are two brothers, Pevsner, not Pavsner, and Gabo, not the brothers Gabo; Maurice Sterne, not Sterns, and in spite of common parlance, particularly in merchandising, "drapery" is preferable to "drapes." A fruitful bibliography is indicated in the footnotes. Major trends are presented from Direct Carving through Abstract, Surrealist and Expressionist forms. Particularly interesting to me was the account of changes in the training of sculptors, both in craft and in imaginative invention, and also the brief discussion of materials and new materials and their potentials for the art. The author also has brought the book up to date by insisting on the important factor of psychological and emotional elements in art. "There are even extreme purists who maintain that any content of meaning which modern sculpture may have is simply a concession to the unsensitive spectator, an inducement for him to take an interest in the aesthetic quality of art. Just as any moral purpose is held to vitiate a play or novel, so is any idealational theme regarded as a blemish on the purity of a sculptured composition. But no one but an extreme purist would maintain that the formal elements of sculpture—volume, balance, contour, rhythm, repetition, and opposition—indispensable as they are, could ever constitute the whole of sculpture. There must be ideas as well, albeit this pleasure is dependent, in large measure, on the sense of order and relationship with which the ideas are presented." I cite this passage as representative of the author's true conviction, the nature of

the evaluations made in the book and the reasonable tenor of it.

No particular case is made for "American" sculpture. The author says he thinks a more American (less provincial and derivative) phase occurs after the Armory Show of 1913 and the first World War. Perhaps he really means a more modern phase. He rightly includes the presence here, and the impact of great contemporary European sculptors, but does he really mean, perhaps, that the plates he gives us are illustrations of sculpture "made in America" not necessarily or primarily American sculpture, and would that not be preferable? The arts, and especially sculpture, should always be above, even if part of, national ethos, and surely the sculpture he presents is as international as it is American—here by the accident of birth. This is as it should be in our contemporary world and a happy thing for America that sculptors of many nations, races and schools of art can find in America a good milieu for their creative endeavors.

I believe that a reader not too well versed in contemporary sculpture would find an introduction here and would feel free to choose personal preferences and make personal evaluations. No reader would be led astray, or be seriously confused or misinformed. The book engenders a respect for the art and makes the reader aware that a lot of sculpture is being made in our midst.

AGNES RINDGE CLAFLIN
Vassar College

Kunstchronik: Nachrichten aus Kunstwissenschaft, Museumswesen und Denkmalpflege, herausgegeben vom Zentralinstitut für Kunstgeschichte in München, I. Jahrgang, 1948, 208 p., Nürnberg: Verlag Hans Karl. 12 d.m.

The mortality of German learned journals in the field of art was great. It was vital that some publication, however modest, should take up the task of reporting the losses, the survivals, the

activities, of institutions and personnel, as well as the fate of monuments, in the great country of art history.

The introduction by the editor and publisher of *Kunstchronik* called it an information sheet; its first volume admirably justified this characterization, which the publication is now already surpassing. Successive issues and features have dealt with the condition and activities, including exhibitions, of German museums since the war, of which it gave the authoritative published summary; with the monuments in various provinces and cities, their preservation and restoration; with necrology since 1939; with lists of accessions of foreign works in German libraries (a courageous and pathetic record); and with reports of the museum and art-historical conventions resumed under much difficulty.

One most welcome feature has been the schedule of personnel and surviving facilities of the universities and research institutes. For several universities, including Marburg, where Richard Hamann continues his instruction with immense material unimpaired, and Munich, which lost many books, the dissertations completed (nine), and in progress since the war (forty-two) are listed individually. They deal chiefly with German material, but also with many other topics ranging from the early Middle Ages to Expressionism. Evidently, German instruction and research are continuing to live up to their great tradition. A wholly new institution is the Zentralinstitut für Kunstgeschichte (founded in connection with the Central Art Collecting Point in Munich) of which the program is outlined in that same issue.

A few articles deal discriminatingly with events and topics outside Germany, such as developments in Florence, and the cleaned pictures in the National Gallery in London.

With the last issue of the year, began, with one of Panofsky's *Suger*, reviews of selected foreign books which appeared outside Germany during the war. The

undersigned is proud indeed to have his *Creation of the Rococo* included in this series, in a review which is the most competent to appear anywhere.

FISKE KIMBALL
Philadelphia Museum of Art

Museums in Modern Life: Seven Papers Read before the Royal Society of Arts in March, April, and May, 1949, 108 p., ill., London: The Royal Society of Arts, 1950. 7/6 d.

It is always a surprise to come up against the official British attitude towards Art Museums. As regards so much of life we share a common point of view, that it is a shock to realize how far apart is our thinking in this field. The shock is valuable. The British have been far more faithful than we to those nineteenth century ideals which in both countries were responsible for the creation of great public collections. Authoritative statements of their present point of view inevitably challenge the American reader to ask himself whether, in abandoning the Victorian position, we have really progressed.

The first paper in this collection is by Sir John Forsdyke, director of that curious blend of Art Collection and National Library, the British Museum. The next is by Trenchard Cox, director of the Birmingham City Museum, an institution which comprises three departments, art, natural history and archaeology. A century ago museums everywhere, whether of science, of art, or of local antiquities, shared a common outlook. In England that is still in a measure true, and all continue to benefit from a regular and unselfconscious exchange of ideas.

Among English museum personnel there is, of course, considerable variety of opinion. The enthusiasm of the social scientists is infectious, but their thinking runs along lines familiar to an American. D. A. Allan, in a spirit of expansion worthy of Texas, advocates, among others, special museums devoted to As-

tronomy, Health, Brewing, Sports, the Theatre and Cooking. At Haslemere, a country town of 3,000 inhabitants, a small science museum operating on a total budget of \$5,200 attracts 28,000 visitors a year. The achievement is astonishing, but many American museums are striving less successfully towards a similar goal.

In contrast, the papers contributed by British Art Museum officials are surprising because the outlook is uniformly conservative. Today the greatest popular attraction at the British Museum is the Egyptian mummies; Sir John Forsdyke regrets that they ever came into the building. "Do these sensational exhibits induce people to take an interest in something better? I think not, but that on the contrary, they encourage them to hope for something worse. . . . I asked recently at the museum bookstall what kinds of picture postcards are bought by children, and I was told that at least nine out of ten ask for pictures of the mummies. But I am glad to say that these at least do not exist." Sir Leigh Ashton, Director of the Victoria and Albert Museum, declares "there has been far too much emphasis on displaying the objects. . . . The whole point of a good museum is that the objects speak for themselves; and they do not, if they are intelligently shown, require a particular setting designed for them." Trenchard Cox stoutly maintains "the prime responsibility of the art-gallery director lies in the acquisition of really fine objects for his collection, since on these will the gallery eventually be judged."

These points of view are not to be dismissed lightly. Whatever we may think of the philosophy, the record of English museums is impressive. In modern Britain there are proportionately fewer university students than in Germany or France and far fewer than in the United States. The seven hundred museums have an opportunity for and a responsibility towards higher education

that is correspondingly greater. The opportunity and the responsibility are recognized and are being realistically faced. Too often Americans think of museum attendance and museum collections in bulk. The British are always aware of different kinds of audience and different levels of quality in objects. They recognize that children, the adult public, students and savants cannot be treated in the same way. They differentiate at least in their thinking more clearly than we do in our practice between exhibits, study collections and reserve material. Their sense of responsibility towards the public is at least as high as ours, but they are aware of the limits of what can be accomplished by a museum. Above all they do not expect to achieve the millennium overnight. As Trenchard Cox points out, "like many other crusades, the campaign for the spreading of artistic knowledge can fail through an excess of zeal, and the public may suddenly feel saturated with the attempts on the part of beneficent administrators to make them appreciate good pictures. True understanding of artistic values cannot be forced; it must grow slowly." At a time when we are all conscious of the spectacular popular success of the Berlin masterpieces, the French tapestries, the Vienna pictures and the Van Gogh show, Americans have much to learn from wisdom such as this.

JOHN COOLIDGE
Fogg Art Museum
Cambridge, Massachusetts

HANS TIETZE, *Tintoretto: The Paintings and Drawings*, 383 p., 300 ill., New York: Phaidon Press, distributed by the Oxford University Press. \$7.50

In view of the shower of picture books on Italian art it is good to see, for once, a publication where the part of fine illustrations is matched by a superior text. It is also gratifying to note the interest of a commercial publisher in a serious work on such an "unfashionable"

figure as Tintoretto. For gone is the crest of that wave of enthusiasm that saw the Venetian artist almost in line with contemporary endeavors, and produced within a few years such standard works as those of Thode (1901), Osmaston (1915), Hadeln (1922), Von der Berken and Mayer (1923), Pittaluga (1925), and Fosca (1929). While they "sought to enlarge our general knowledge of the artist by increasing and deepening our knowledge of details . . . or by enriching his *oeuvre* by a series of valuable attributions," Dr. Tietze's attitude may be characterized as rather cautious and restrictive. The Tintoretto inflation has gone, and the time has come for a more detached appraisal of his art and a reduction in the number of works that reasonably can be considered as authentic. It is this feature that in some interested circles may be frowned on, but that will probably make this publication a reference work for a long time to come, for Dr. Tietze has reached his conclusions from a life long intensive study of Venetian art, and his arguments are solid, sound, and clearly stated.

The opening chapter, "Stylistic features," analyzes the aims of Tintoretto's "Mannerism" as contrasted with and in reaction against Titian's colorism and disintegration of form. It elaborates on the new attitude toward form and coloring "which before aimed at being beautiful and charming" and is now "deprived of its absolute value and dedicated to the service of expression and of the composition" (p. 17). In the wake of Max Dvořák who, a generation ago, had the first inspiration on Mannerism as a major style, Dr. Tietze has some penetrating observations on Tintoretto's conception of space resulting in a renewed linear conception, a toning down of coloring, and a harmonization of content and form. "The striking impressiveness of beautiful painted details . . . the virtuoso's trick of foreshortened bodies serve to intensify the supernatural significance of the subject" and mean "a devo-

tion to the deepest significance of the subject and its deliberate spiritualization" (p. 26). Tintoretto is thus revealed as one of the great Christian painters.

In the chapter on Tintoretto's life and training the author pieces together from a few anecdotes, some scattered works, and what one might call his stylistic *flair*, the rather obscure artistic beginnings, and links them up with Paris Bordone.

Of particular interest, however, seem to be the explanations on the last years. Here Dr. Tietze discusses distinctions between the "San Rocco style" and the "Ducal Palace style," as well as the workshop procedures, the didactic part played by drawings, clay figures, and model sketches used by numerous helpers under the eye of the master. This resulted in "hundreds of graduations which make it impossible to judge his works by the standard of whether he himself had a greater or smaller share in their execution" (p. 58). "Not a single example of his much lauded talent for portraiture is known, and we must conclude that it has disappeared in the depths of the Tintorettesque style," the portraits were indeed "the standard stock-in-trade, the everyday productions" of his atelier (p. 59). Although he succeeded in making "his workshop the receptacle and instrument of his artistic will" (p. 60) the nucleus of his authentic paintings seems to be much smaller than many biographers, art dealers and museum directors are ready to believe.

Every painting which the author accepts is reproduced, many particularly fine details are also included in full page size along with a number of drawings, two large folding plates, and three color reproductions. A profusely annotated and thoroughly worked catalogue including many workshop paintings is extremely welcome. The book making lives up to the high standard of former Phaidon editions. Unfortunately the

anonymous translator has not always succeeded in eliminating such Germanisms as "formative" for "visual" arts, and sentences like the following should have been worked over for the sake of clarity: "He experimented with increasing zeal the feeling for life, which means the acknowledgement and reproduction of organic growth, and laboured incessantly to penetrate the secret of this living relationship" (p. 22). Nevertheless this is a work that belongs in every college library.

KLAUS BERGER
University of Kansas

Eugene Delacroix: Zeichnungen, Aquarelle und Pastelle, text von Eugene Delacroix, Charles Baudelaire und Hans Graber, zweite auflage, 54 p., 64 pl., Basel: Benno Schwabe & Co., 1949. 28 s.f.

Drawings, it seems, are again coming into their own. Never have there been made so many studies and publications on the art of line as during these last years, not only in this country but everywhere.

This handsome quarto volume, a

masterpiece of book making, is interesting to American readers especially for its reproductions, for Baudelaire's penetrating essay on Delacroix has finally been published in English, and Hans Graber's eight page sketch includes no new information.

The plates, however, make this publication invaluable; although on glossy paper they meet the highest standard in black and white, and the choice of sixty-eight drawings gives the best cross section of Delacroix's manifold techniques, subjects, types of imagination, and periods that this reviewer has seen. Moreover, each single work shows a first class artistic quality, which does not necessarily apply to every drawing stamped E. D. Even the student of Escholier's three volume standard work, of Martine-Marotte's facsimile portfolio or of Curt Badt's special study on Delacroix's drawings will find here many splendid new examples of draughtsmanship accomplished by one of the greatest and most prolific artists.

KLAUS BERGER
University of Kansas

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